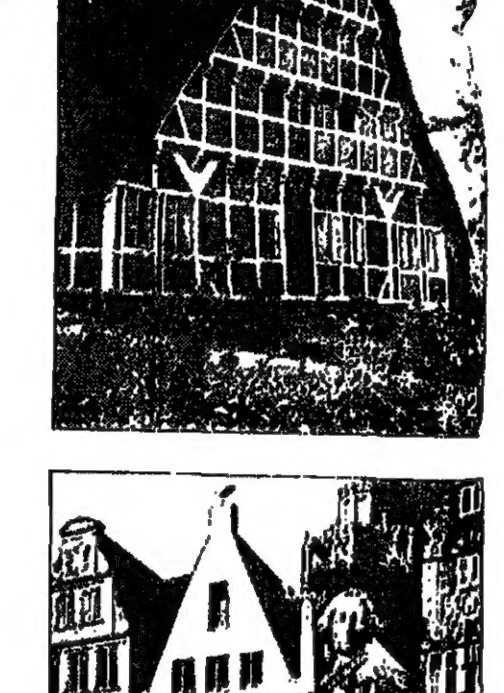
Routes to tour in Germany

The Green Coast Route

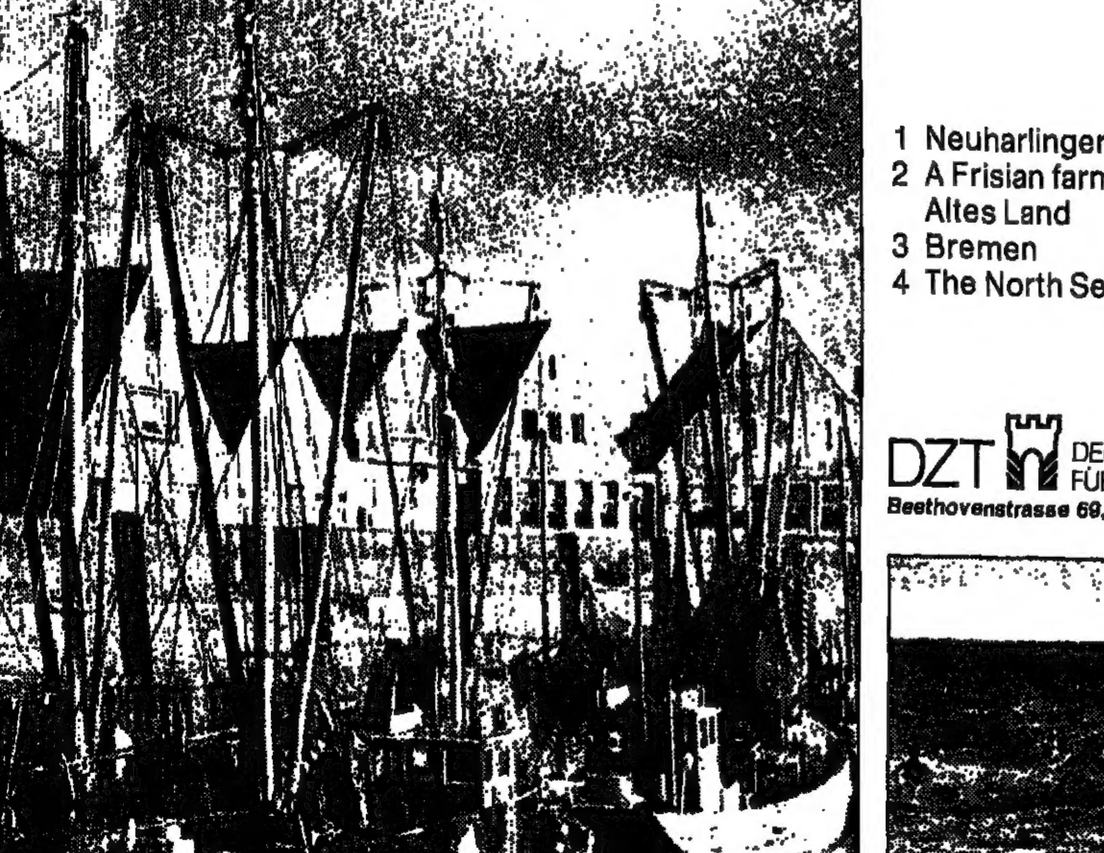
German roads will get you there – wherever people live and there are sights worth seeing. Old churches or half-timbered houses, changing landscapes or townships. There are just too many impressions, so many people find it hard to see at a glance what would suit their personal taste. Which is why we in Germany have laid out well-marked tourist routes concentrating on a special feature. Take the coast. We are keen Europeans and happy to share the Green Coast Route with the Dutch, Danes and Norwegians. But we do feel that we in the north-west of Germany have the most varied section of the route. Offshore there are the North and East Frisian islands. Then there are the rivers Elbe, Weser and Ems. There are moors and forests, holiday resorts with all manner of recreational facilities. Spas, castles and museums. And the Hanseatic cities of Bremen and Hamburg with their art galleries, theatres and shopping streets.

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1 Neuharlingersiel
2 A Frisian farmhouse in the Altes Land
3 Bremen
4 The North Sea





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The German Tribune

Hamburg, 10 May 1987
Twenty-sixth year - No. 1272 - By air

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

C 20725 C
ISSN 0016-8858

Europe's credibility is on the line over missiles

Hannoversche Allgemeine

It is always the same. The Europeans, especially the Germans, first urge the American government to reach an arms agreement with the Soviet Union — at any cost.

But as soon as the Americans start doing that the Europeans start crying out.

Europe first wanted the superpowers to come to an understanding; then they started having nightmares about the superpowers jointly ruling the world at their expense.

For decades nothing has shaken American confidence in Europeans, especially Germans, as strongly and persistently as this chopping and changing.

And nothing has so strongly confirmed the Americans in the knowledge that they alone in the Western alliance pursue clear and logical policies.

Americans cannot take seriously the German attitude of vacillation between the desire for US-Soviet detente and horror at the prospect of it actually coming about.

The zero option for medium-range missiles in Europe, in other words agreement between America and Russia to scrap weapons in this category, was originally neither an American nor a Russian idea.

It was the Europeans who first proposed it in the early 1980s and President Reagan who took it over from them.

Now that it looks as though the superpowers might be about to reach agreement on this basis, the Europeans cannot suddenly be against the idea or insist on previously unmentioned terms.

Fortunately, Bonn government officials were among those who appreciated this point in time.

Yet now, oddly enough, views differ on the selfsame zero option for missiles with a shorter range (of between 55 and 100km).

Many proposals made by the Soviet Union in recent years have been a tall order, not a serious proposition. The zero option for shorter-range missiles is, in contrast, a bona fide offer.

As the Americans, unlike the Russians, have no weapons in this category stationed in Europe, the proposal amounts to a unilateral disarmament move by the Soviet Union.

It goes without saying that Moscow makes it subject to the West neither developing nor deploying similar weapons.

The US government is absolutely right in urging the Europeans to accept this Soviet offer. No other option makes the least sense.

There could only be any point in turning it down if Nato were to resolve at the same time to develop missiles of its own with this target range.

As they could only, for geographical reasons, be stationed in the Federal Republic of Germany that would mean taking up cudgels in a second round of clashes over missile deployment.

No German politician has yet expressed readiness to gird his loins for this particular fray — and none is likely to do so!

This time not even Germans loyal to Nato and to the defence of their country could be persuaded.

In 1983 it was clear that the Soviet Union had upset the strategic balance to its own advantage by stationing SS-20 missiles within striking distance of targets in Western Europe.

It was self-evident that the West could not accept this state of affairs without making Moscow feel the Europeans were paving the way to creeping capitulation.

So the Soviet Union was told to take its pick. Either withdraw its SS-20s or Nato would station similar missiles of its own in Europe.

The Soviet authorities have now offered to dispense with an entire arms category of their own; it would be absurd for the West to respond with an arms build-up.

Bonn may still be fighting a vague rearguard action on this point but the signs are that the Soviet offer will eventually be accepted.

Yet that is not the end of the matter. Disarmament is not an end in itself. The argument that the fewer arms there are the safer peace is cannot be said to be based on firm foundations.

Even if there were to be a clean sweep of nuclear weapons one must still consider whether Europe were safe from a military attack or, possibly, from attempted blackmail.

This question cannot simply be set aside by noting that the Soviet leaders clearly have other problems entirely at present. No-one can say what policies Moscow will pursue in five or 10 years' time.

Staying armed is a commonsense precaution, and the problem cannot be eliminated by claiming Soviet forces aren't superior in the non-nuclear sector.

This claim is wishful thinking and does not do justice to the harsh facts, including Western Europe's geographical disadvantages.

Conventionally armed Soviet forces have the edge to such an extent that for *nearly 40 years it has been considered* self-evident that the West needs nuclear weapons to establish a credible deterrent in Europe.

What nuclear deterrent would Nato retain if all medium-range missiles with *nuclear warheads* were to be scrapped? The US government reassuringly says that even then about 4,000 nuclear warheads would still be based in Europe.

Christian Democrats in Bonn, such as Manfred Wörner, Alfred Dregger and Volker Rühe, are not alone in doubting whether that is enough.

Americans, such as former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, a man whose experience can hardly be questioned, have also sounded a warning note.

One point is clear. Once medium-*range missiles have been scrapped Nato* will no longer have at its disposal nuclear weapons in Europe capable of reliably reaching Soviet targets.

There can be no denying that this arms reduction would reduce Nato's deterrent credibility.

It would leave only the British and French nuclear forces and US bombers and, way back in US territory and on board US warships, intercontinental ballistic missiles and long-range bombers.

It is by no means unreasonable to wonder whether, in an emergency, this potential would suffice as a deterrent. This is a problem that must be solved as nuclear weapons progress in the next five or 10 years.

But there can be no question of the *Federal Republic now clamouring for the* introduction of shorter-range missiles in return for the abolition of medium-range ones.

That is an idea German politicians would do well to set aside as fast as possible.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 2 May 1987)



The Pope (left) is welcomed by Bonn President Richard von Weizsäcker at the start of a four-day tour of Germany. (Photo: dpa)

A message for the Pope

There was an unusual note about the welcome to Germany given to the Pope by Richard von Weizsäcker.

Weizsäcker, who was acting in both his capacities as German head of state and a leading Lutheran layman, called on the churches, and the Pope, to pay more heed to the mental hardship of Christians in Germany, a denominationally divided country.

It is not enough for the Pope to voice his respect for Protestant victims of the Nazi era and to acknowledge the good work done by Protestant welfare organisations.

Catholics and Protestants alike wait in vain for the pressure of inflexible *church viewpoints to be relaxed.*

The much-vaunted unity of belief in Christ is still marred by obstacles to everyday ecclesiastical coexistence.

The Pope's visit will not change this. His main aim is to strengthen Roman *Catholics in their beliefs.*

He feels this is badly needed in a country where people's ties with the Church have grown steadily weaker.

The beatification of Edith Stein, Rupert Mayer and Cardinal von Galen is a reminder of unswerving belief during the dark chapter that was the Third Reich.

This strength of belief is portrayed as exemplary for people today.

Pope John Paul referred, in the presence of German bishops, to the hardships the Church faced in the Nazi era.

He failed to mention that some leading Catholic clergymen were lacking in courage, preaching sermons in support of denominational schools but not against persecution of the Jews.

An admission of guilt such as the Protestants made in 1945 would have been more effective than a mere mention of the suffering "of non-Aryan citizens, especially the Jews."

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 1 May 1987)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Democracy in the Argentine struggles to win the war as well as the battles

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

"Happy Easter! The rebels have given up, go home and celebrate!" said President Alfonsin of Argentina, announcing the bloodless end of the mutiny that threatened constitutional government.

The events that followed, with heads rolling at the top in the army, made some Argentinians mistakenly believe their country's infant democracy had prevailed over the mutinous officers, showing the men in uniform who held the whip hand.

True, there was occasion for jubilation. A little over three years after the restoration of constitutional government a historic political change had occurred under the pressure of a threat of military blackmail.

Social groups who in the past had been happy to call on the military and help them to overthrow elected governments this time supported the democratic system.

They included the Opposition Peronists and their powerful trade unions, the business community and the Church.

One long-overdue consequence of the events that shook Argentina over Easter is the need for action on and a solution to the human rights trials. They are an issue on which Argentinian society can no longer afford to be divided.

If no agreement is reached the new spring between the Rio de la Plata and the Andes will soon be over — even without a fresh coup. Constant military pressure exerted on a civilian government can make a mockery of democracy, as Latin Americans themselves know best.

It would be wrong to assume that a mere 200 hotheads in uniform sought confrontation over Easter.

The dramatic fact that the army, the largest of Argentina's three services, rebelled as a whole weighed far more heavily.

There was the mutineers, the reluctance of other units to move against them and the refusal to obey orders given by generals loyal to the government.

In some regiments votes were cast on whether to side with the government or with the 200 mutineers.

The Alfonsin government has appreciated that action is needed if democracy is not to degenerate into an empty formula, with a choice between the devil of an amnesty for men in uniform and the deep blue sea of a coup d'état.

Precautions have been taken. In the "democratic agreement" reached by all leading political forces in support of constitutional government an amnesty is clearly said to be out of the question.

Fifty-two per cent of the Argentinian electorate voted in favour of the principle of bringing to book both military commanders responsible for criminal oppression and all members of the armed forces who gave their sadistic instincts a free rein in carrying out orders while taking no action against "ordinary" obeyers of orders.

President Alfonsin had previously banked on the Supreme Court doing his dirty work and drawing the borderline between obeying orders and doing so to excess.

But the Supreme Court judges understandably baulk at delivering a political judgment, preferring to leave that to Congress.

Since the end of last year Congress has had before it a proposal submitted by the ruling party, the conservative UCR.

It is that no member of the armed forces from lieutenant-colonel downward should be liable to prosecution for human rights crimes during the dictatorship.

Men of this rank and below are implied to have been liable to be court-martialled and shot for refusing to obey orders.

This solution would rid President Alfonsin of the problems he faces with middle-ranking officers, Argentina's generals-to-be and the category who mutinied over Easter.

If the proposal were to become law the only officers liable to prosecution would be the ideologists and instigators of "dirty war" — all men now retired.

The conservative, pro-military Peronists who control the Senate will have no objection to a solution of this kind.

That leaves the opponents of coming to terms with the past in any political manner: the families of the 9,000 people who disappeared during the dictatorship, human rights organisations and left-wing extremists.

The government will be unable to ignore their morally justified right to merciless reckoning with the men who were to blame for the elimination of the people missing.

But it will have to make it clear to them that there is a borderline between what is feasible and what is desirable for a Latin American republic.

The majority of the Argentinian people is well aware of this state of affairs.

Above all, the Alfonsin government can claim to have pursued for the past three years a military policy that is totally new in Latin America.

The men mostly to blame for crimes committed during the dictatorship are behind bars after sensational trials. The inviolability of murdering and plundering generals is a thing of the past.

There has not just been a purge of the armed forces. Staging a coup d'état has been declared a serious criminal offence both civil and military — which again is something new and unusual in Latin America.

The Argentinian army has had to accept both stringent financial cuts and a reduction in manpower. Its economic base and opportunities of influencing the economy have also been greatly reduced.

Above all, there has been no general amnesty for the armed forces. Crimes and bloodshed have not been declared null and void under pressure from the military.

Uruguay has much to learn from neighbouring Argentina.

Ulrich Achermann

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 28 April 1987)

Sri Lanka violence poses a dilemma for New Delhi

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Clashes between the majority Sinhalese Buddhist and the minority Hindu Tamil communities in Sri Lanka have assumed civil war proportions.

The conflict has been long smouldering and quick to come to a head.

At the beginning of April President Jayawardene's government felt strong enough to proclaim a cease-fire.

By the end of the month the air force was flying sorties against rebel strongholds in response to terrorism by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and their revolutionary students' organisation.

The appalling bomb attack at Colombo bus station was only the last link in a long chain.

President Jayawardene, whose markedly pro-Sinhalese policy in the early days of his government and, earlier, as Opposition leader largely contributed toward hostility between the two ethnic groups, was suddenly accused of being too lenient.

This was mainly in connection with his December 1986 proposals envisaging a substantial degree of self-government for the Tamil areas.

Among the Tamils the political forces prepared to compromise have been outflanked by extremists banking solely on guerrilla warfare and calling for total independence — a demand no government in Colombo can possibly consider.

Terrorist groups may badly need isolating, but one wonders whether air raids, hitting both guerrillas and civilians, are likely to solve the problem.

One point seems clear. It is that Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict is unlikely to be solved without cooperation between Colombo and New Delhi.

Indian Premier Rajiv Gandhi, who has trouble enough at home — with the Sikhs, for instance, — and has lately seen his image pale as a standard-bearer of hope, will need to seriously reconsider his position of non-intervention in respect of Sri Lankan Tamils.

Rebel Sri Lankan Tamils have bases in neighbouring Tamil Nadu, south India, and Mr Gandhi is understandably reluctant to fan the flames and foment Tamil dissatisfaction with New Delhi.

Yet New Delhi may find it even more dangerous in the long term to do nothing.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 28 April 1987)





Arafat's jack-in-the-box act shows signs of expediency

RHEINISCHE POST

At the end of 1983 PLO leader Yasser Arafat was dismissed as dead — politically speaking. In 1982 the Israelis had forced PLO fighters to withdraw abjectly from west Beirut. A year later renegade PLO men and Syrians forced his last supporters out of Tripoli in northern Lebanon.

The hatred in which the PLO continues to be held in Lebanon was recently shown in the relentless week-long siege of Palestinian refugee camps on the outskirts of Beirut by Shi'ite militiamen.

Yet those who are dismissed as dead tend to be survivors: none more so than Mr Arafat, who was re-elected PLO leader by the Palestinian National Council in Algiers.

His support now seems more widely-based than at any time since the Lebanon disaster. What is more, his underground fighters have demonstrated their ability to operate from Lebanese territory against arch-enemy Israel again.

Is it back to business as usual for Jack-in-the-Box Arafat? If he *is* back in the saddle, then he has had to pay a high price for the privilege.

He has surrendered to firebrands in his own, as always, fragmented ranks. He has also snubbed the Egyptians, who promptly announced that they were sick and tired of him once and for all.

The six-day PNC session in Algiers began with Arafat's call, to an accompaniment of frenzied jubilation, for a sovereign Palestinian state "with Jerusalem as its capital."

It ended with him re-elected and arm in arm with Marxist extremist leaders Habbash of the PFLP and Hawatmeh of the DFLP, both of whom were instrumental in his ejection from Tripoli in 1983.

Abul Abbas, who is felt to have been the motive force behind the hijacking of the *Achille Lauro* in 1985, retained his seat on the PLO executive committee.

He is a fine hallmark of a coalition of expediency that inspires little confidence. One wonders how long it will last this time.

The Palestinians' verbal claim to Jerusalem is likely to make the Middle East situation yet more complicated than it already is.

So is the call for an international conference on the Middle East including a PLO delegation, which amounts to a brusque rejection of joint Jordanian-Palestinian representation.

So, for that matter, does the clearly recognisable tendency of the PLO toward extremism.

Israel, above all, will feel confirmed in its belief that it will continue to be unable to come to terms with Mr Arafat's PLO.

Claus-Dietrich Möhlke

(Rheinische Post, Düsseldorf, 27 April 1987)

The German Tribune
Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 3-4 Hartwicusstrasse, D-2000 Hamburg 76. Tel. 22 85 1. Telex 02-14733
Editor-in-chief: Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anthony. English language sub-editor: Simon Burnett. - Distribution manager: Georgine Picone
Advertising rates list No. 15
Annual subscription DM 45
Printed by CW Niemeyer-Druck, Hameln
Distributed in the USA by: MASS MAILINGS Inc. 540 West 24th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
Articles in THE GERMAN TRIBUNE are translated from the original text and published by agreement with leading newspapers in the Federal Republic of Germany
In all correspondence please quote your subscription number which appears on the wrapper between asterisks, above your address

■ HOME AFFAIRS

SPD begins to crumble in its old bastions

Two Social Democrat councillors in Munich have quit the party after an internal dispute. This has left the Opposition CSU with a majority in the council. Munich is not an isolated example of SPD fortunes. Its stocks are low in many parts of the country. Local government was once the party's strength. Not any more. Its grip is slipping. One of its last city strongholds, Hamburg, could change hands at the polls later this month.

Social Democrats have only memories of the good old days when most German cities had SPD mayors strongly supported by either an SPD majority in the city council or a balance of power that didn't force them to wonder whose support they might have to rely on for a working majority.

Local government was the SPD's forte. That was where it could show itself to be a party of men and women of the people; and that was where it could excel.

And excel it did. The Christian Democrats were often riled at being firmly in control in Bonn yet having to live from hand to mouth in local government.

Those were the days when CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss complained that SPD mayors behaved as though the post-war "economic miracle" had been their handiwork. They were merely the waiters who served food cooked by others, he said, meaning the CDU/CSU.

These local government roots helped the SPD in the days of Erich Ollenhauer and Willy Brandt to make gradual and steady gains in successive general elections, finally taking over power in Bonn too.

Yet the longer SPD Chancellors ruled in Bonn, the clearer it was that the Social Democrats faced serious grassroots erosion.

The grand old men of SPD local government retired, providing the CDU/CSU with welcome opportunities of trying its luck.

Today's SPD mayors face serious difficulties in the few cities that still have SPD majorities. The ills that beset the party as a whole are no respecter of the *Rathaus*, as the affair in Munich so clearly showed.

SPD Mayor Georg Kronawitter is in a quandary in the Bavarian capital now the SPD no longer has a majority in the city council.

He may console himself with the thought that he has gained tactical advantage in all directions but his situation is still serious.

He no longer wants to join forces with the Greens, but the CSU, which is now the largest party in the council, is certain to dictate terms.

A policy of swings and roundabouts, or leaving it to chance to see which way the voting goes on any given decision, is not only strenuous; it will also do the unstable SPD no good at all.

What happened in Munich is clearly symptomatic of the SPD's loss of local government authority.

In Augsburg, Mayor Hans Breuer only manages to hold his own by being tough and issuing ultimatums.

In Hanover, Mayor Herbert Schmalstieg is in his municipal officials' bad books for joining forces with the Greens and planning to appoint a Green as head of the environmental affairs department.

So the SPD cannot offset the loss of power in Bonn by relying on stable majorities in local government.

Yet that was precisely what it planned to do after going into Opposition benches in the Bonn Bundestag. It hoped to regain firm foundations in local government as their democratic nucleus.

With solid backing from town and city halls it felt it would have less trouble and better prospects of challenging the CDU/CSU and the FDP in the *Länder* and in Bonn.

Less has been heard of these tactics lately, arguably because state assembly election results after the loss of power in Bonn were initially so promising that leading Social Democrats felt they might soon regain power at the centre.

When the trend began to backfire, first in Lower Saxony, the SPD decided that the January 1987 general election would make all the difference. But it didn't, and since January there has been precious little to relieve the gloom and despondency felt by Social Democrats.

Yet there was some optimism. Gains in the *Länder* were to lay the groundwork for an SPD takeover of the Bundesrat, or Upper House in Bonn. The counterweight theory gained a fresh lease of life.

If only one *Land* government were wrested from the CDU, Social Democrats argued, the SPD's weakness in the Bundestag could be offset and a counterweight to the CDU/CSU-FDP coalition's policies established.

Since the SPD's election defeat in the April state assembly polls in Hesse this somewhat over-hopeful plan has been shelved, especially as the Social Democrats could soon forfeit power in Hamburg too.

The few remaining SPD islands in a CDU/CSU sea seem to be in danger of being taken at the flood.

Analysts, psephologists and motivational researchers are all at a loss as to a remedy even though they can show how voter allegiances have changed.

They have also noted that many traditional SPD voters are abstaining. They know why individual SPD policies are unpopular in various areas. But no-one can say what they must do.

The Social Democrats themselves have the least idea why they seem at

Continued on page 6

Both wings of the Greens reject a high-flying kite

Lukas Beckmann of the Greens was clearly flying a kite in suggesting that his party ought to set aside its fixation with the SPD and pay more attention to the CDU.

But Beckmann, outgoing spokesman for the Greens' national executive, has achieved the exact opposite of what he hoped to achieve.

Instead of triggering a debate in time for the Duisburg party conference all he has achieved is universal agreement among Greens that any such idea is out of the question.

He is a member of the *Realpolitik* wing of the party, yet even the *Realos* have rejected his proposal.

There are various reasons why rejection has been unanimous. Some are objective, others psychological.

Even the Greens, as a party founded only a few years ago, are reluctant to part company with established ideas and preconceived notions. Besides, Beckmann did not choose a particularly favourable moment at which to think aloud.

The Greens are still busy coming to terms with the collapse of their coalition with the Social Democrats in Hesse. It would be asking too much of them to expect them to plunge into a debate on fresh coalition line-ups or allegiances.

There is no overriding reason why they should embark on a strategy debate. There is no serious prospect of any new party-political line-up before the end of the decade (other, perhaps, than in Bremen).

So the collapse of the Hesse coalition has taken the wind out of the sails of conflict potential for the time being. All wings of the party must now concentrate on longer periods.

"We have greater aims in view," says Rainer Trampert, and his eco-socialist fellow-Green Thomas Ebermann agrees, saying revolutionary change is only possible over a lengthy period of "enlightenment and social struggle."

Yet examples of social innovation in the Federal Republic the two men cite as proof of their point tend to disprove the tenet that capitalist society is incapable of reform.

In reality the party-political system with its built-in alternatives has proved fairly adaptable and flexible.

In keeping with their "programme of ecological transformation" the Greens call for the strictest possible precautions to prevent environmental destruction.

The Bonn coalition parties have, in contrast, opted for an alternative that is less rigorous but has the advantage of being converted into legislation.

The Greens cannot claim to have been first to discover the increasing pillage of natural resources; they have merely lent support to bids to conserve nature that the established parties also support.

As long as the Greens are unable to point to moves for which they have been undeniably responsible they will find it hard to persuade society the time is ripe for fundamental change. People feel the established parties are doing quite well.

The Greens can be said to have achieved little by way of substantive gains by means of their radical demands, whereas the established parties, closely linked with industry, have achieved what is possible in joint harness with industry.

At Duisburg the Greens can look back on nine years as a political party. In nine years they have not achieved much that could be described as spectacular, and their immediate prospects look little better.

Their *Realpolitik* wing has been sent back to Square One by the Hesse setback to cooperation with the Social Democrats.

The fundamentalists offer a vision of the shape of things to come but no way of getting there. What are they going to do when voters lose heart and abandon the long march?

You can't march into no-man's-land forever, and even Thomas Ebermann admits that "we may fail and be licked hollow."

The Greens style themselves the only party that opposes the ideology of growth, yet they owe their success to constant growth.

There is no law that guarantees continued Green gains at the polls. The Greens face serious structural and regional problems.

Jutta Ditfurth, in her written report for the Duisburg conference, says young Green voters of both sexes are beginning to drift toward the conservatives or to abstain.

These may be the first signs of gradual crumbling. The Greens are clearly no more immune than other parties to long periods of bad luck.

Their antiquated statutes, with countless rules, regulations, quotas, do's and don'ts, make it more difficult for them to adjust to changing circumstances.

Opinion polls show the Greens not to have gained in popularity with a majority of voters. SPD supporters, for instance, are increasingly opposed to them.

They owe their electoral successes largely to the fact that the established parties currently appear even less attractive than they do.

If what Joschka Fischer, the former Green Environment Minister in Hesse, says is true and the SPD is merely in the doldrums at present, then the Greens will not face their true test until the Social Democrats start to regain momentum.

Klaus Dreher

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 29 April 1987)

Fundi success: Jutta Ditfurth (left), Christian Schmidt and Regina Michalik, members of the Greens' fundamentalist wing, after being elected as the party's publicity committee at the annual congress in Duisburg. (Photo: dpa)

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

An unknown outsider comes in as the new Environment Minister

Klaus Töpfer has been appointed Bonn Environment Minister. He succeeds Walter Wallmann, who is the new Premier of Hesse following the election last month in which the Christian Democrats ended 40 years of Social Democrat rule.

Töpfer is Minister of Health and the Environment in the Rhineland-Palatinate. In Bonn terms, he is a political unknown. He is also an unknown face. He can sit unrecognised in a crowded Bonn cafe.

But the word is that Töpfer is one of the Christian Democrats' rising stars, that he knows more about the environment and has greater practical experience in this policy field than almost any other conservative politician.

This explains why no-one was surprised at his choice. But there have been murmurings in the Press because he does not fit the overall concept of Chancellor Kohl's second government.

Töpfer is no out-and-out professional politician and his party roots are not all that deep.

He is a regular commuter between university and ministerial life — and he attaches great importance to his independence.

During his ministerial years in Mainz, the Rhineland-Palatinate capital, he lectured on area planning research and regional planning. He kept in touch with as well as a safe distance from party-political realities.

Being inside and, to a certain extent, on the outside is what he likes most, if possible the best of both worlds.

Out of the ordinary

During his eight years in the Rhineland-Palatinate (to begin with as a state secretary and then, since 1985, as a minister) he only ran into real trouble following the wine adulteration scandal.

The qualities which made journalists sit up and take notice — his out-of-the-ordinary approach to politics and his ability to harmonise the contradictory — tended to make him rather suspect within the CDU and CSU.

Some colleagues felt he was still an outsider and high-flier. Where, they asked, are his unambiguously conservative traits?

A look at Töpfer's life history, however, shows that he has always been fundamentally conservative.

He was only seven years old when his parents were driven out of Silesia after the war.

"I cannot remember the countryside there," he recalls, "but I do remember some of the faces.

"I can clearly recall how a German warder who mistreated Polish workers in a mine during the war was lynched in the street. In my mind's eye I can still see him lying there," Töpfer says.

These memories have not become a trauma, he insists, an attitude which generally complies with his dislike of exaggerated psychological or political inferences from past experiences.

Perhaps he has simply been spared major disruptions and defeats. During his life things have always moved upwards.

He approves, although without resounding emotionalism, of the country in which he has developed his abilities. Everything Töpfer has to say about himself could almost be written in an autograph book, since they are voiced in a calm and inward-looking way. "I belong to a post-war generation which agreed with the way of the world because it gave it the opportunity to become what it wanted to become." Wherever he landed he mastered the circumstances. The pupil from the ultra-conservative and strongly Catholic part of Westphalia more or less automatically drifted into the *Bund Neudeutschland*, which was part of the "free youth movement" and which still plays a part in the CDU/CSU structure today.


But would you recognise him in a Bonn cafe? . . . Klaus Töpfer. (Photo: dpa)

Some critics feel that members of this organisation mutually ensure each other of access to top jobs.

However, secret societies and conspiracies are not enough to work one's way up today's CDU.

Töpfer at any rate only managed to become a *Fähnleinführer* in the *Bund*.

I had to work very hard at school and in the university," he says. "This took up all my time. You could say I was career-minded right from the start."

He wanted to move into politics from the very beginning, although he did so in a roundabout way.

His dissertation dealt with "Regional Planning and Locational Decisions".

"By today's standards," Töpfer admits, "its content is outdated. It deals with railway and road construction, decisions for industrial locations and the advantages of urbanisation."

The dissertation fits in with the period in which it was written, marked by the pragmatic objective of "making a variety of factors affecting decisions more manageable."

At that time Töpfer did not think of the dispute over nuclear power plants



and waste disposal sites, the day-to-day topics of an Environment Minister.

At the beginning of the 1970s, for example, a cost-benefit analysis was needed in the Saarland for the extension and canalisation of the River Saar.

The Saarland premier at that time, Franz-Josef Röder, called in a young man from Münster by the name of Töpfer to help him carry out this project. The theoretician became a planner and administrator.

A recurrent motive in Töpfer's political career is that mentors such as Franz-Josef Röder or, later on, Heiner Geissler and Helmut Kohl were more important to the up-and-coming son of a minor civil servant from Höxter than the party.

"I first joined the CDU in 1972, following Willy Brandt's election as Chancellor," Töpfer recalls.

"I simply felt that the euphoria went too far. What is more, at that time no-one could accuse me of joining the party for reasons of inordinate ambitiousness. "Basically, I am quite simply a conservative."

His collaboration with Röder shaped his career. Instead of collecting, as planned, material for his postdoctoral thesis (Töpfer: "I wanted to see what politics was all about and then write down how it works") he discovered political talent within himself.

Backed by the patriarch Röder, Töpfer soon became the chairman of the CDU in Saarbrücken.

His SPD opponent at that time was Oskar Lafontaine, a man who has remained Töpfer's favourite rival.

"He always understood how to put his pawns in the right positions," says Töpfer of Lafontaine's political style. "It's pretty difficult to corner him in his own castle."

Kohl had this in mind when he asked Töpfer to come to Bonn. If the new Environment Minister lives up to his promises then, Kohl has indicated, Töpfer will be allowed to challenge Lafontaine in the next Saarland state election in 1990.

"I still haven't formed a final opinion on Lafontaine," Töpfer says. "To beat him on his home ground would be a pleasure."

Both politicians are Catholic, resolute, in love with life, and have a keen and cold-blooded intelligence.

Both politicians have become experts on the environment and gradually asserted their positions within their respective parties.

Töpfer's move to ministerial rank has followed a well-known pattern: first theory, then practice.

After seven years in the Saarland Töpfer went back to the university and at the same time worked on environmental problems for the Bonn government's Council of Experts.

As Environment Minister in Rhineland-Palatinate he gained the reputation of being both the heart and the brain of his ministry.

His popularity is connected with his efforts to rid politics of the ballast of ideological bias and his dislike of the grave side of politics.

"Whether your name is Fischer (a reference to Joschka, the former Hesse Environment Minister and a Green MP) or Töpfer," he stresses, "all environment ministers are faced by the same problems.

"They always have to take good cover, since a grenade could explode at any time and all they can do is throw grass over it.

"The situation is in disarray, and the greater the disorder, the greater the risks."

The situation in Bonn is also still in disarray.

Töpfer moves into the Environment Ministry set up nine months ago and still provisionally housed in the Palais Schaumburg.

Both in terms of space, staff and concept improvisation is more of a necessity than a virtue.

"You can only do that sort of thing for nine months without people noticing," Töpfer remarks sarcastically, countering possible misunderstandings by adding that "after Chernobyl the facts could not simply be disputed. Confidence-building measures were important and essential. Wallmann was the right man for the job."

The second phase of conservative environmental policy now begins.

The novice Töpfer is not over-optimistic about its prospects — his wariness based on his own experience.

Chernobyl, Sandoz, waste in abundance: "We cannot keep on running behind scandals, slip-ups and affairs."

Up to now Töpfer has always given the impression that he has additional reserves and can, if need be, stretch his own personal limits.

Careful

Now and again he is worried that he could be steamrollered by events. He is likely to take his time before reaching policy decisions.

He does not let himself be nailed to statements on whether he has different ideas to his predecessor in office on the fast breeder reactor in Kalkar or the Alkem plutonium factory in Hanau.

"Does a CDU Environment Minister have to shut down a power plant first to prove that he is seriously concerned about environental problems," he asks.

Answering the question himself he adds, "that would be no more than a symbolic act. On the contrary, he must show that he understands how to make nuclear power plants safer."

Bonn's first Environment Minister responded to Chernobyl with symbolic acts.

The second Environment Minister wants to prove that the rivers, the land and the air can be spared pollution, decomposition and contamination.

Environmental law as police law: as Töpfer has outlined in many of his speeches, nothing more and nothing less than a tightening up of all laws and stipulations is needed.

It is hoped that these will be the constituents of an overall conservative ecological concept.

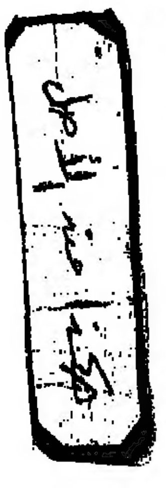
This includes government provisions and limits which industry must respect. Such an environment policy neither goes beyond the limits of a market economy nor of an industrial society.

The key remark is: "We must learn to master reality with the spirit of innovation without changing the world."

This is a truly conservative concept, far from the ideas of the SPD and even further from those of the Greens.

Gerhard Spörl

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 17 April 1987)



■ PERSPECTIVE

The environment becomes a constitutional issue

The CDU, CSU and FDP have agreed to incorporate environmental protection as a "state objective" in the West German constitution, a move the SPD has been demanding for some time.

The CDU and CSU once referred to such a step, which was frequently called for by the FDP, as a case of seeking "refuge in symbolic politics". The accusation is exaggerated.

In view of the current awareness of environmental problems and, more important still, the general mood of the electorate on this issue no political party can afford to ignore the *vox populi* before making its policy decisions.

Nevertheless, voices have been raised in protest against a constitutional commitment of the state to environmental protection.

This, the argument runs, would be tantamount to telling the state what to do and would extend the field of government activities.

Yet was it not the current coalition in Bonn which set out to reduce the extent of regulatory state intervention in the name of "debureaucratisation"?

If the action of the state is directed along given constitutional channels there is a growing risk of a conflict of policy goals, a conflict which would then inevitably assume constitutional character — with all the implacabilities that involves.

Respective opposition parties, for example, would then no longer need to accuse the government of incorrect or lax environmental policies; they could then refer to the disregard of constitutional commitments.

The coalition parties and the SPD — it was the latter which proposed a motion in the Bundestag for an amendment to the constitution — seem to be trying to console themselves against possible misgivings by talking about a commitment to a "state objective" and strictly rejecting the "basic right to environmental protection" demanded by the Greens.

But is there really such a big difference? A number of the existing contradictions between individual basic rights and state objectives are in need of clarification.

Environmental protection as a state objective, for example, would be incompatible with the underlying principles of the social welfare state if this were interpreted as committing the government to an expansionary economic policy.

The Federal Constitutional Court would be the arbitrator.

The SPD hopes and the CDU/CSU rather hesitantly admits that the Court would derive guidelines or even obstacles to government action from a legally binding state objective called environmental protection.

The assurance is made that the intention is by no means to shift even more of the state's decision-making powers from the field of politics to the courts.

Yet this is precisely what will happen, and this not only at Federal Constitutional Court level.

Even without an official state objective called environmental protection laid down in the constitution the administrative courts have already made substantial inroads into fields for which the administration is responsible.

Environmental protection cannot be enforced in absolute terms but only as a balance of interests.

This becomes clear every time a new by-pass is planned. Some people want to get rid of the noise and stench of cars outside of their front doors whereas others, want to retain their green surroundings.

The courts generally opt for the status quo, which more or less means a decision against those who have already suffered most so far.

Every industrial enterprise, every housing area, every railway station and every airport is on ground which was once meadowland.

In an industrialised nation whose people don't want to do without conveniences including the welfare state system, an "absolute environmental protection" of the kind which would be circumscribed by a corresponding state objective cannot be enforced.

Constitutions should not be (made) comparable with IOUs, which often turn out to be worthless.

Such a situation could emerge, however, if the lower administrative courts refer to environmental protection as a constitutionally specified state objective, which is part of the "system of values" developed by the Federal Constitutional Court and hence generically related to a basic right.

The West German constitution, the Basic Law, was planned as directly applicable law, in contrast to the Weimar constitution of 1919 which regarded the basic rights guarantees and declared state objectives (which already included the "protection of the countryside") as more or less non-binding declarations.

Basic rights are directly enforceable.

If the administrative courts are supposed to be in the process of firmly re-establishing the role of the judge as a controller rather than a political decision-maker the creation of a state objective for environmental protection would delay or even reverse this development.

The argument that such a corresponding amendment to the Basic Law, the content of which has yet to be worked out in detail by the coalition, would cause no damage is untenable.

At the moment it looks as if all political parties are afraid to say no to this constitutional amendment for fear of being criticised as enemies of the environment.

The amendment therefore seems likely; all that can be done now is to try and word it in such a way that the damage to politics is kept within limits.

An excessive limitation of action by the state would have adverse effects on private persons and create new propaganda fronts.

What is more, doubts would be cast on the consistency of the constitutional framework.

Friedrich Karl Fromme

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 April 1987)

Take security initiative, Europe urged

Security, defence and disarmament policies in Europe must be changed, delegates to the 18th Bitburg Talks were told.

Jürgen Ruhfus, a State Secretary at the Bonn Foreign Office, said Europeans must start working out their own answers in these fields. This should done within the Atlantic Alliance. He also said the Western European Union was a good body to increase coordination here.

The European legal community was the subject of the talks, attended by lawyers, politicians and journalists.

The chairman of the *Gesellschaft für Rechtspolitik* which organised the event, Otto Theisen, described this topic as "the probably most fascinating constitutional and legal policy issue of our times in Western Europe."

The discussion soon showed that Europe is still very much a developing community and that it will take some time before the various national principles of state can be effectively aligned.

Ruhfus referred to the agricultural policy, the reorganisation of the financing framework and the structural policy of the European Community as the immediate tasks for the future.

Medium-term goals, he added, are the setting up of a European technology union and the incorporation of environmental topics in the Community's overall policy framework.

Ruhfus confirmed the "justified interest" of the individual *Länder* to take part in political developments at a European level.

The federal government in Bonn has nothing against them setting up offices in Brussels as information centres.

All that Ruhfus criticised is the possibility that these offices might be regarded as official representative missions of the individual West German states.

According to the First Advocate-General of the Court of Justice of European Communities, Carl-Otto Lenz, the idea of turning 12 separate economic areas into a single entity by removing the divisive barriers is a "revolutionary process".

A symbiosis has now been reached, he said, in which it is now fair to talk of a common legal language. Community law has become a "factor of integration".

West German industry not only depends on the European Community because of the advantage for exports.

secretary of the Confederation of German Industry (BDI), Siegfried Mann, explained:

"We are faced by tasks which we can no longer tackle and solve alone."

Space travel, aircraft construction and large-scale research programmes for new technologies can "no longer be carried out on national markets".

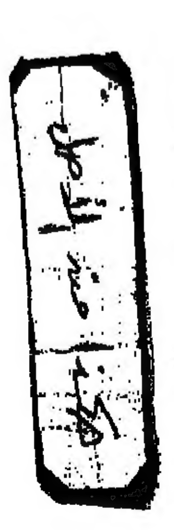
Collaboration is essential to increase international competitiveness.

It is unsatisfactory that a great deal of "methodological uncertainty" exists in the field of legal harmonisation and that "no plausible basic concept" has yet been found.

There was a tendency to let even trivial matters be dealt with centralistically by the Community Commission or members of the respective national governments in the Council of Ministers.

During the talks the suggestion was made to create a provision which regu-

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Illegal labour has been an industry in itself for years. Huge amounts are lost in unpaid income tax and social security contributions. Workers, most of them foreigners willing to turn their hand to anything for low wages, are hired out by unscrupulous operators to any takers. The construction industry is a major offender. In 1985, journalist Günter Wallraff wrote a bestseller called *Ganz unten*, (At the Very Bottom) in which he exposed the use of illegal labour and some sordid cases of maltreatment. Since then, teams of inspectors have been sent into action to hit the cowboys who supply the labour and the firms that use it. In this article for *Frankfurter Rundschau*, Kerstin Ney and Hans-Carl Schultze investigate how much progress the investigators have made.

THE WORKFORCE

Squads head crackdown on illegal-labour supply firms

Illegal labour is a term that doesn't even hint at the human tragedy that lies behind it. The workers don't exist on paper. The firms that hire them out are quasi legal. Many of the facts that do come out emerge accidentally.

One investigator says that he received a telephone call from a building worker who said something strange was happening on a site in Aachen.

A Turkish worker had fallen from scaffolding and, as he lay bleeding from mouth and ears and showing no signs of life, a van appeared.

The injured man, perhaps dying or dead, was taken away by people unknown and has not been seen since.

The authorities knew about illegal labour long before Cologne writer and investigative journalist Günter Wallraff wrote *Ganz unten* (At the Very Bottom) in 1985. But the politicians were not generally interested.

Alarming reports by the authorities fell on deaf ears. It took Wallraff's book, and the subsequent debate, to trigger action.

North Rhine-Westphalian Labour Minister Hermann Heinemann was particularly keen to come to grips with moonlighting and the parallel economy — what Germans refer to as working "black."

He held a conference of agencies concerned with the problem of illegal labour hire (Labour Office, Factory Inspectorate, public prosecutor and health insurance schemes) with a view to improving cooperation.

The concept of a "rapid deployment force" began to take shape. It was set up as a task force and subdivision of the Factory Inspectorate.

Factory inspectors, unlike Labour Office officials, are entitled to check factories and sites whenever they see fit and without warning.

Six Duisburg factory inspectors have since combed North Rhine-Westphalia, mainly checking large firms.

If large companies have to be careful the hire firms will forfeit their best customers, they reckon.

Task force members place their special know-how at the disposal of local officials. It is badly needed.

"Apart from the six squad members," says task force chief Klaus Lemanski, "not one factory inspector in the 22 area offices in North Rhine-Westphalia has undergone any training in dealing with illegal labour hire firms."

As courses have not been generally available, task force officials find local staff a little uneasy about this new field of activity.

Besides, area offices are overworked and undermanned. They have more than enough other work to do. Yet the task force and local inspectors checked 1,488 firms last year.

Shortcomings came to light in 935 companies and 364 were suspected of hiring labour illegally. Members of the task force feel sure they could catch more offenders if their numbers were increased.

Staff shortages are the most serious problem facing the Labour Office and its eight regional centres. In Bochum, for instance, at least five per cent of cases a year lapse.

"The offenders can count themselves lucky," says Bernd Elbe, head of the Bochum centre. His department unearthed offenders who were fined over DM2.8m last year.

In 1986 North Rhine-Westphalia dealt with 3,100 offenders who were fined a total of DM6.8m. At least as many again probably got away.

Cooperation between agencies concerned with illegal labour hire did not, to begin with, run as smoothly as Herr Heinemann had envisaged.

There was frequent internal criticism of the way the Labour Office and the Factory Inspectorate collaborated. After over a year in joint harness they have now established a routine.

Yet disputes still arise over who is responsible for what. Firms that hire and hire out illegal labour are well aware and make good use of these weak links in the chain.

Part of Herr Heinemann's plan was to concentrate on large firms that hire contract labour in bulk and with whose assistance the black sheep might more readily be identified.

The authorities held talks with managements and reached agreement just over a year ago with the Iron and Steel Employers' Federation.

The employers agreed to be more careful in hiring temporary staff. As a result they brought pressure to bear on labour hire firms, some of which decided to "go legal."

This trend has been noted all over the country, however, and is due in part to legislation that came into force at the beginning of last year.

This legislation made employers who hire temporary staff responsible for social security and income tax deductions.

Yet the Duisburg task force still feel they are getting less support than they might from large companies in fighting the black sheep.

In retrospect they feel real headway has only been made at Thyssen, a Ruhr steel and engineering firm that comes in for harsh and detailed criticism in Wallraff's book.

Large firms' industrial safety departments are still not prepared to accept responsibility for the safety of temporary staff hired from outside firms. "We come up against a wall of silence," Lemanski says.

Dangerous working conditions as described by Wallraff are still very much the rule. The task force came across serious safety shortcomings in 507 of the 1,488 firms inspected.

The trend toward hiring more and more illegals continues, says Michael Klein of the Labour Office, Düsseldorf, who heads the unit responsible for combating illegal labour hire.

The trade unions see the trend as a serious threat. Firms can easily sack illegals and don't face the trouble and expense of severance pay, welfare provisions and redundancy agreements.

Frankfurter Rundschau

Hiring temporary staff is also a way of undermining trade union activities in a company, which is another reason why the unions have clamoured for a total ban ever since labour hire began.

In practice it is often another matter. Works councils don't always strictly oppose hiring temporary staff when the boss comes to terms with shady customers in the labour hire business.

In small and medium-sized firms factory inspectors have found works councils often to feel that "he who pays the piper calls the tune" — the boss is right and offences often go unreported.

The task force feels it has been left in the lurch by the Federal government. Herr Lemanski says he has yet to receive any backing from Bonn, neither publications nor declarations of intent, let alone legislation.

A Bill tabled by North Rhine-Westphalia providing for stricter inspection and penalties failed to pass the Bundesrat at the end of last year.

The latest statistics tell a plain tale. In Baden-Württemberg, population 10m, fines totalling DM680,000 were imposed in 735 cases in 1986.

In Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg, population 4m, fines totalling DM1.3m were imposed in 467 cases, while Rhineland-Palatinate and the Saar totalled DM2.3m, much more per head than in the south-west.

An alarming new trend has come to light in North Rhine-Westphalia, where criminal offences are on the increase (as against offences for which fines of up to DM2m may be imposed).

The Bochum public prosecutor's office, which is regionally in charge of economic offences, started 147 criminal proceedings in the last six months of 1986.

Illegal labour hire firms have reacted to stricter official checks by perfecting their activities and working more systematically. The public prosecutor's office reports that hire firms have a smoothly-running network of contacts.

They swap staff as though they were crates of merchandise. They are interlinked in a jungle of companies and undercover operations. New firms are formed daily and others shut down to cover their tracks.

Cooperation between illegal labour hire firms is so widespread, says chief prosecutor Johannes Hirsch, that it is no exaggeration to refer to it as organised crime.

Herr Klein says there are building sites where labour hire extends to seven tiers, with each successive sub-contractor going in for increasingly criminal tactics.

Handsome profits can be made by not making income tax or social security payments (as opposed to deductions). These are profits that are bound to attract hard-nosed crooks.

Construction project accounts are usually not settled until the work has been completed. Staff must be paid by the week (or month).

So illegal sub-contractors need cash in hand to start in business.

They can't raise bank loans because their business doesn't lead a legal existence, so they rely on and welcome cash from the proceeds of prostitution and narcotics dealing.

The inspectors regularly hit a blank wall the deeper they delve into the activities of what can fairly be called organised slave labour.

"We have tremendous difficulty in getting anywhere near the behind-the-scenes operators," Lemanski says.

Kerstin Ney/Hans-Carl Schultze

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 25 April 1987)

Appeal to halt moonlighting

A joint appeal has been made in Bonn at the start of the construction season for action to fight moonlighting and illegal labour.

Issued by the Federal government, the labour authorities, the construction industry and the trade union, people are called on "not to jeopardise new jobs in the building trade by anti-social behaviour."

The joint declaration says:

"Employing staff illegally is anti-social. Awarding contracts to be carried out by illegal workers is not only anti-social but a backhander in that there is no recourse for complaints of faulty workmanship."

Moonlighters shun honest competition because they pay neither tax nor social security contributions.

So: "Employ staff legally, ensure jobs are safe and above board and pay not a pfennig for moonlighting."

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 25 April 1987)

Continued from page 3

present to be at the receiving end of criticism from all sides. They are so upset that tiredness and resignation are the hallmarks of their Opposition performance in Bonn.

They are determined to stand by their Nuremberg manifesto even though it could well do with updating.

They claim with each successive setback to feel more keenly motivated than ever.

Voters have long ceased to believe them, and SPD members are no longer sure they know where they stand.

In Munich two longstanding SPD councillors have resigned their membership. In Hesse an SPD assemblyman must have voted for Christian Democrat Walter Wallmann rather than for fellow-Social Democrat Hans Krollmann as Premier.

In public debate the SPD seems only to have anything to say on foreign affairs or disarmament. As long as it has nothing to say on other matters, voter support is unlikely to go from strength to strength.

One SPD stronghold after another has fallen to the CDU/CSU. Social Democrats seem first to have to resolve disputes between left- and right-wingers, then to seek the support of another party.

Against this background it is hardly surprising that something extraordinary will have to happen before the SPD can expect to regain voter appeal.

It must first come to terms with itself, as no-one knows better than Hans-Jochen Vogel, Willy Brandt's successor-designate as SPD leader.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 24 April 1987)

MONEY

Lively stockmarket gives commercial banks another good year

Last year was another excellent one for German banks; some even reported big improvements over 1985 — and 1985 was a good year.

Loans and overdrafts are still the mainstay of their profits, but growth comes largely from the stockmarket.

This is immediately apparent from the increase in earnings from buying and selling stocks and bonds for account-holders.

Deutsche Bank, unchallenged as the pack leader, reported a 13.5-per-cent increase in net profits on stock exchange business to nearly DM1.6bn.

Dresdner Bank, which has always been active in the stock market, reported a 17-per-cent growth rate to just over DM1.5bn, while Commerzbank earnings were up 11 per cent to DM895m.

The stock exchange is going through a boom, so the banks had nothing but good news to report on their own stockmarket trading. Stocks were particularly lucrative while bonds were good.

Dealing in gold and precious metals and foreign currency was another profitable sideline.

In dealings on their own behalf the banks can be said to have improved on their outstanding 1985 performances, although estimates are all that can be made, as banks are not required to publish details.

Even so, hints make it clear that profits in this department amounted to DM1bn and more for each of the Big Three.

Pleasing though stock market business may have been for the banks, there are risks. Last year foreign investors increased their stake in German stocks and bonds by over DM4bn to DM15bn.

Over 30 per cent of many leading German companies' equity is held by foreign investors; in some cases the figure is over 40 per cent.

That may be considered proof of general confidence in the German economy and, in particular, in the German capital market.

But international financial flows tend to change direction very fast.

So it would be better to stick to hard and fast figures taken from current accounts in the banks' published balance sheets and not including business on their own behalf.

Deutsche Bank led the league with profits up 46 per cent to DM2.8bn, largely due to its tour de force in selling the Flick holdings.

The bank benefited, of course, from the stock market boom, which made it so much easier to sell the substantial blue chip shareholdings at a handsome profit.

Yet even if the Flick transaction is discounted as a special situation, the remainder of the bank's profits still represent a 1.9-per-cent increase — on a high level.

In percentage terms Dresdner Bank fared even better, with profits up 5.4 per cent, or just over DM900m, while Commerzbank netted DM752m, or an increase of 3.2 per cent.

When profits from the banks' dealings on their own behalf are added, Deutsche Bank must have netted well over DM4bn, Dresdner little less than DM3bn and Commerzbank roughly DM1.2bn.

These enormous amounts might be expected to be a bumper harvest for shareholders were it not for the much-vaunted provision against contingencies.

All leading banks have run serious risks in foreign lending and are now gravely worried.

No-one can say whether debt-saddled countries in Africa and South America and extending to the Philippines will succeed in raising the cash to fund their loans.

They probably won't, leaving the banks with little choice but to set aside much of their profits as provision against contingencies.

They have done so to such an extent that provisions and reserves ought to be enough to cushion them from heavy blows. But with international business gaining in importance, there is unlikely to be any shortage of risks in the years ahead.

Besides, growing numbers of domestic bankruptcies, even extending to private account-holders, leave the banks with no choice but to set aside more cash to cover such contingencies.

These and other trends have prompted the banks to exercise caution in dividends declared despite extremely good business.

The downturn in the second half of last year and the bleaker outlook for 1987 have made many feel the banks have reached the end of a succession of fat years.

That need not mean the outlook for the future is unmitigatedly gloomy, but a consolidation phase is likely to follow in the footsteps of recent expansion.

And even if lean years lie ahead, the German banks should be well cushioned to withstand the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune.

Peter Nerreter

(Mannheimer Morgen, 25 April 1987)

Gold gets back some of the old glister

Gold gurus have come back out of hiding after going into shelter in the early 1980s. Gold fell into disgrace after the bubble of speculation between 1979 and 1981 burst.

Between 21 January 1980 and the beginning of 1985 gold plummeted from its historic peak of $850 to a low of $285 an ounce.

Gold has slowly gained for over two years, with intermittent hiccups. At the end of April it reached $462, its highest level for four years.

It has been held in high esteem as a hedge against inflation ever since King Gyges of Lydia minted the first gold coins in Asia Minor in the 7th century BC.

Fears of inflation need to be fairly widespread before gold prices gain momentum, and there are no signs yet of inflation fever.

Initial pointers are increasing in number, however. The amount of money in circulation has increased heavily everywhere, prompting fears of renewed inflation.

The dollar's health bill looks increasingly worrisome, with further pressure being exerted by the high US current account deficit, growth in new borrowing and higher interest rates.

These traditional pointers do not seem to be the key factors this time. Growing interest in gold, an investment that pays no interest, seems to be attributable more to the international liquidity surplus.

This abundance of ready cash is sustaining bullish markets in Japan and the United States, but where the prevailing view is that shares have peaked, profits are temporarily invested in gold and precious metals.

Gold is not even the most important precious metal. It is trailing both silver and platinum.

The gold market now seems to have gained momentum, with experts in Zürich saying prices may rise to $500 or even $1,000 an ounce — providing fears of higher inflation take root in the medium term. Such pessimistic forecasts are the soil in which gold euphoria flourishes.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27 April 1987)

Continued from page 5

lates the scope of centralist power once and for all and which clearly defines which tasks should be performed by peripheral institutions.

The European Economic Community is far from being a complete whole.

It currently seems as if no-one really knows what it is supposed to look like when it is completed.

In the opinion of the almost 80 year-old constitutional law expert Hans Peter Ipsen the Community is still very much an "administration union for functional integration".

Two conclusions can therefore be drawn. On the one hand, the statement by Ruhfus that the main task is to consolidate what has been achieved seems oversimplified. It cannot be ignored, as Theisen explained, that "major goals" have already been achieved.

On the other hand, it is stil not clear how Europe is to be structured in future. Each Community member state will probably retain its nation-statehood.

Individual states will not be liquidated and will probably not allow themselves to be turned into members of a European superstate.

This means that these countries will also retain their constitutional autonomy.

Europe needs a new form of statehood. Political scientists and constitutional law experts are confronted by the extremely difficult task of finding new methods and an appropriate state structure.

The undesirable developments of the past who that Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg have not satisfactorily been able to solve problems with the help of conventional means.

Axel Kollecker

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 27 April 1987)

■ BUSINESS

Watch-and-clock industry still ticking over

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

German makers produced 2.8 million wristwatches valued at DM190m last year. World production was 450 million.

But a spokesman for the German industry said the figure is misleading because the German figures refer only to complete watches. The world figures included the number of works — internal working parts — as well.

Time marches on. The days when makers produced the entire article, from cogs to face, themselves are long gone. Today, automatisation and rationalisation have led to specialisation.

About 15,000 are employed in 250 makers of watches and clocks in this country. All these firms are medium-sized. All are highly specialised.

One produces casings, another faces, another the works.

Most watch and clock manufacturers buy from the various specialist makers and assemble the parts.

The biggest producer of watch parts in Germany makes 10 million units a year. Most are exported.

There are 63 million clocks "Made in Germany" each year. This country is Europe's biggest maker.

For years wristwatch sales have been on the decline, but sales of living-room clocks and alarm clocks have increased a lot.

Total clock production increased by one per cent last year, in money terms the production figure stagnated at around DM1.4bn, for the average price for a clock has dropped.

There is still a steady demand for luxury clocks, but medium-priced clocks are not doing so well.

The industry has done well with coloured, smart and inexpensive fashion watches. "Disposable" watches with amusing and attractive designs have made caused chaos in price structures as did digital watches.

Competition from the Far East gives the German industry considerable concern. Like all traditional industries the watch and clock sector is under powerful pressure from up-and-coming industrial nations and threshold countries with low pay levels.

Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan are among the world's major watch and clock manufacturers, and almost all their production is for export.

Hong Kong is the world's largest maufacturer of wrist-watches. Corporation tax is below 20 per cent there, wages are low and the currency is linked to the weak American dollar. This means that there will be a flood of watches and clocks from the Far East, coupled to the overcapacity production from the Japanese industry.

Last year watch imports into West Germany increased 16 per cent to 36 million units and clock imports rose 25 per cent to 8.5 million.

Exports of watches, watch parts and works rose only one per cent.

Nevertheless exports of DM1.33bn exceeded, in money terms, imports of DM1.1bn.

Clocks were differentiated mainly by design, in processing and price. Generally speaking, quality of the insides of a clock are much the same regardless of what part of the world they are made in.

The competitive element in the clock business is in the design. These days the clock must be aesthetically acceptable, whether it is designed for the office desk or the kitchen wall. Purchasers are more concerned about the clock as an eye-catcher than as a timekeeper.

Futuristic designs for clocks do not worry too much about the basic function of the timepiece — showing the time clearly.

There are many variations in the design of faces, in pattern and colours used. The numbers on the clock face marking off the hours often look like minute works of graphic art.

The clock or watch makers success depends to a large extent on the originality of design, of the materials used, and the colour and shape of the clock face.

Watch and clock makers with creative ideas beat the competition by a hair's breadth in the tough task of winning orders.

Gottfried Eggerbauer

(Rheinischer Merkur Christ und Welt, Bonn, 17 April 1987)

A male toiletries boom — without raising a sweat

Hamburger Abendblatt

The days when a man smelled of washing soap and tobacco or, as Hemingway put it, "should damn well smell of himself," are long since gone.

Few businesses are growing so fast as male toiletries. Once, they were kept on chemists' shelves as afterthoughts. Now entire shop departments stock them.

Last year sales of male toiletries in Germany reached DM770m, about 10 per cent of the total business in personal hygiene merchandise.

There are more than 200 makes of perfumed products for men, 10 per cent more than in 1985 and twice as many 10 years ago.

By 1990 it is expected that the business will have topped the one-b[illion] mark level, according to the Hamburg firm of Beiersdorf, the largest among the West German giants in the business.

But 60 per cent of shaving foam, pre- and after-shaves, toilet waters, deodorant sprays and hygienic creams are not bought by men but by wives or girlfriends.

Almost two-thirds of all men in Germany over 14 use an aftershave — 14 million men in fact.

A third of the 14-year-olds and over (seven million men) use toilet water or Eau de Cologne. Only four million did so five years ago.

Eleven million males over 14, or 55 per cent of the age group, use deodorant sprays. Five years ago it was only 48 per cent.

Where are they sold? Large department stores and chains of drug-stores have the giant's share of the business. In the last four years their market share has increased from 42 to 50 per cent.

The share of the market held by small chemists' has been reduced (today it is about 19 per cent), but they have nevertheless recorded satisfactory increases in sales. Over the past four years their business in male toiletries has increased by more than 20 per cent.

Shops selling perfumes (their share of the market has increased slightly to 15 per cent) have been able to increase their sales of male toiletries by 70 per cent.

Other, non-specialist shops and sales-outlets, have maintained a market share of about 21 per cent over the past four years; but despite this stagnation there has been an increase in the sales figure of 10 per cent.

Men are not too worried about price when it comes to smelling nicely. Take aftershaves, for example.

They cost between six and 35 marks per 100 ml cannister. The largest range of aftershaves comes within the 10 to 20 mark price (Sir Champaca, Sir Canada Ceder, Sir Irish Moos, Extase, Moschus, Tabac, Mennen, Otelo, Prestige, Rodeo, Old Spice, Pitralon and Denim).

The high-price range is between 20 and 30 marks (Adidas, Care, J. Ch. de Castelbajac), Hattric, T 2, Speick, Tarr and Kalderma are among the cheapest of aftershaves.

The market tendency is towards high-priced products and high-price brands such as Armani or Davidoff.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 23 April 1987)

Direct-selling methods under fire

West Germany is a billion-mark paradise for door-to-door salesmen and the organisers of "coffee trips." Both sorts of business are under fire for their methods.

Coffee trips are cheap outings arranged to buy goods. The might be boat trips on the Baltic, a bus trip to buy wine in a wine-producing area or to buy marzipan in Lübeck. Most of the traveller are older people.

Households in West Germany pay out about DM2.5bn for cosmetics, books and other goods sold by direct-selling methods.

About DM300m was paid out last year by trippers for "coffee outings," say two Munich organisations that have been involved in handling public relations for these two business sectors for the past 20 years.

Both sectors often come under fire from consumer protection organisations.

The 13 giant direct-selling companies with 200,000 sales-outlets all over the country and the 13 members of the West German merchandise distributors association have formed a working group to look after their interests.

This sector has a poor public image. A spokesman for the working group, Wolfgang Bohle, says that the image wil only be improved if "immoral" sales systems are eliminated.

The association wants to be taken seriously because of its high standards of conduct.

This is "a good sign of good intentions," said Manfred Dimper of the consumer association, Bonn.

According to the Munich PR men the traditional poor image of door-to-door salesmen is a thing of the past, direct salesmen, to use the more modern jargon expression, who hypnotise people into buying unwanted articles to treat rheumatism, encyclopedias or vacuum cleaners. Victims are mainly old people, usually women.

The two PR organisations point to improvements in the door-to-door business with cancellation legislation that allows a week during which goods valued at more than DM80 can be returned with full reimbursement. This legislation came into effect almost a year ago.

Organisers of shopping trips by bus, mainly, voluntarily allow people to cancel within 14 days of booking an outing.

The associations say that when this right to cancel came into effect there was not a great flood of cancellations. There are about two per cent cancellations, and direct-selling has not become more expensive since door-to-door sales activities were brought under control. The Bonn-based consumer protection association places a few question-marks against this assertion.

There is just as much suspicion about "direct selling" as there was about "door-to-door salesmen." Bohle complains that people who regularly buy household goods, books or cosmetics from direct selling organisations such as Vorwerk, Bertelsmann or Avon, still express suspicions.

The reason is that people class respectable representatives with "disreputable door-to-door salesmen."

Despite shorter working hours and more free time for their sales staff, the direct selling sector expects to increase turnover this year. Added costs for personnel is the reason for a third of Avon's losses in West Germany since 1983.

Only a quarter of peole who purchase through direct-selling methods are new to the system. Customers are younger and better off than the national average. They often live in towns and villages with up to 20,000 population.

The sales people, mainly women, deal in cosmetics, household goods, deep-frozen foods and books.

According to the association the typical "coffee trip-goer," who has to get up usually at six or seven to catch the bus, is 40 or over, more often female than male and has done the trips many times.

Most of those who go on these outings are well aware of what they are in for, according to association spokesman Mathias Kaiser.

A day's trip usually costs DM30, an outing lasting three days between DM100 and DM150.

There is a wide range of goods associated with the trips from herbal oils or kidney warmers for 20 marks, cooking saucepans or favourite woollen sleeping coverlets up to bubble baths costing DM1,500.

Kaiser was angry at slamming reports of trips made by the consumer magazine *Warentest* last year, although admittedly the trips did not go smoothly. He said the trips were not representative.

German trip operators who offer direct-selling outings in holiday resorts abroad, such as Gran Carnaria, outings that are a rip-off, cannot be disciplined in this country.

If there is a "black sheep" here who is an association member, the association takes up the matter with the offender. If a non-member the association goes to law.

Sigrid Ulrich

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 23 April 1987)



■ NUCLEAR ENERGY

Soviet Union signs cooperation treaty and opens the doors a little

Frankfurter Allgemeine

The Russians are letting visitors from the West take a closer look at their nuclear physics and engineering research facilities.

Visitors to the Kurchatov Research Institute on the outskirts of Moscow have included Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber and his official delegation.

German journalists have also been allowed for the first time ever to see a little of the Soviet Union's atomic energy research and development.

They were shown experiments with spherical fuel elements and nuclear fusion developments.

Herr Riesenhuber has also been invited to visit research facilities and nuclear installations in Russia, Armenia and Georgia.

These are the initial effects of the treaty of cooperation on nuclear technology and physics signed on 22 April in Moscow by Herr Riesenhuber and the chairman of the Soviet atomic energy committee, Andranik Petroyants.

A nuclear treaty of this kind, let alone the readiness to fulfil its provisions so openly, would have been inconceivable a few years ago.

In the past there have been only the most tentative contacts between West German and Soviet scientists.

Experience can only be said to have been shared to any great extent on nuclear fusion. Yet there is nothing new about plans to embark on comprehensive bilateral cooperation.

Similar arrangements have been agreed between the Soviet Union and Britain, France and the United States, to name only three.

A framework agreement between Bonn and Moscow on scientific and technological cooperation, including atomic energy, was delayed year after year by disagreement over the status of West Berlin.

Both sides have stressed, at the signing of the nuclear treaty and that of the medical and health cooperation agreement signed by Bonn Health Minister Rita Süssmuth, that they are satisfied with the compromise on West Berlin which was so laboriously reached.

Soviet leaders voice regret that the agreement was so long in the pipeline. Herr Riesenhuber said: "It was late in signing, but concluded at a favourable juncture."

The terms agreed must not be overrated in their practical repercussions. The contracting parties may have agreed to try hard to breathe life into the agreement and to interpret it pragmatically and achieve results as soon as possible. But there can be no telling what will happen in practice.

To start with, it will not be easy to find the right men for the commission that is to supervise cooperation.

The initial benefit of the nuclear and health agreements having been signed, with Agriculture Minister Kiechle shortly to sign an agreement on agricultural research, is primarily that of improving the political atmosphere of ties between Bonn and Moscow.

The best practical outcome in terms of atoms for peace would be for joint endeavours to boost reactor safety.

Speculation about improved security precautions at Soviet nuclear power stations, heralded on the first anniversary of Chernobyl, leading to bumper contracts for German firms is likely to be disappointed.

For weeks illusions have been harboured in Bonn that the West German nuclear industry would be inundated with large-scale contracts if it were to be allowed to take part in modernising Soviet power reactors.

There are no signs of any such contracts — none yet, at least. Information gleaned from Soviet sources during Herr Riesenhuber's visit can only be taken as meaning Moscow will be ordering neither turnkey reactors nor equipment on any scale abroad.

The Russians leave no doubt that they continue to set great store by atomic energy as a source of electric power, albeit with a clear commitment to greater safety precautions.

But nuclear power expansion, including greater reactor safety, is to be achieved wherever possible by the Soviet Union on its own.

That is not just a matter of prestige. Foreign exchange is tighter since oil and gas prices plummeted, is not to be spent on large-scale imports of nuclear plant and equipment.

The Soviet authorities hope to achieve their objective of boosting reactor safety mainly by closer exchange of experience with experts and manufacturers in Germany and other Western countries.

They want to improve safety engineering and technology but hope to get by mainly by improving staff training at nuclear installations.

This aim is repeatedly justified by the argument that human error, rather than technology, was mainly to blame for the Chernobyl disaster.

Soviet officials insists that cooperation between man and machine must be improved.

Herr Riesenhuber was careful while in Moscow not to make suggestions on how the Soviet Union might improve reactor safety.

He patiently and tenaciously repeated that the best possible safety precautions must be taken by both sides. Experts are shortly to compare notes at seminars.

They will, for instance, need to consider what possibilities there are of using internationally acknowledged safety techniques in Soviet reactors.

Whether the nuclear cooperation agreement is a success will depend largely on whether reactor safety as a whole is improved.

Keen though Soviet officials may be to collaborate in improving safety precautions, they admit to economic interest in nuclear cooperation. They would dearly like to benefit from developments on which more headway has been made in Germany than in Russia.

They are, for instance, keenly interested in using high-temperature technology at some stage to generate industrial process heat.

They feel, in contrast, that Russia is ahead of the Federal Republic in breeder reactor research.

Two breeder reactors are operational in the Soviet Union. One is a 300-megawatt, the other a 600-megawatt reactor; a third, 800-megawatt installation, is planned.

Soviet officials voice sympathy with German counterparts about political difficulties over setting up a breeder reactor in Germany.

They wonder whether Kalkar, the site of the proposed fast breeder reactor on the Lower Rhine, will turn out to be the German Zwentendorf (the mothballed Austrian nuclear power station).

Doubts are expressed whether the state of domestic political affairs in the Federal Republic will really permi comprehensive international collaboration on peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Yet the Soviet Union expects the Federal Republic to embark on full-scale cooperation on the basis of the new agreement.

Klaus Broichhausen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 April 1987)

Few countries deterred by Chernobyl

Although Chernobyl triggered a reappraisal of technological progress, only a few countries have decided to abandon nuclear power.

A year after the Soviet reactor disaster, construction of nuclear power stations continues all over the world.

At the end of last year there were 377 nuclear power stations in operation, according to the German Atomic Forum. Most were in Western countries, 68 in the East Bloc, including East Germany.

By the end of the decade there are expected to be more than 500 — 149 are being built, 59 of them in East Bloc countries.

Twenty-one nuclear power stations (or power station blocks) with a combined capacity of 19,956 megawatts are in operation in the Federal Republic, where atomic energy supplies about a third of public-sector power.

No fundamental change can be expected in Bonn's energy policy before the 1990s. The Bonn government believes that nuclear power is still justifiable, partly because of what it feels German safety standards are high.

In neighbouring European countries the situation varies. In France, for instance, the issue was virtually immaterial until recent accidents, as at the Superphénix reactor hit the headlines.

In Italy, in contrast, it was partly to blame for the present political crisis. After Chernobyl plans to add a further 10 to Italy's existing four nuclear power stations were practically shelved.

Half a million signatures were collected in support of a referendum on atomic energy that is to be held in mid-June.

Austria's only nuclear power station, Zwentendorf, was mothballed several years ago after a plebiscite.

Before Chernobyl a Swedish referendum resulted in the decision to shut down the country's 12 nuclear power stations by the year 2010.

Environmental experts in Copenhagen say the Chernobyl disaster silenced the last supporters of atomic energy in Denmark.

In Holland the expansion programme was frozen until 1988, whereas British public opinion seems unperturbed by the consequences of the Soviet reactor disaster.

In March the British government announced its intention of going ahead with the new Sizewell nuclear power station. In Athens the government has reaffirmed that Greece has no plans to build nuclear power stations.

Poland is the only East Bloc country where public protests against atomic energy are reported to have been made.

Demonstrators protested against Zarnowiec nuclear power station, built with Soviet assistance. But the Polish government has not dropped its atomic energy plans.

In the United States a backlog of planning permission applications built up after the Three-Mile Island reactor accident in Harrisburg.

This is reportedly no longer the case. Seven new projects were given the go-ahead last year, making 20 nuclear power stations under construction and due for completion in the United States by 1990.

Hartmut-J. Keppner

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 25 April 1987)

■ THE ARTS

Schizophrenic's drawings cast light on thinking processes of mentally ill

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Demand continues for what is called "Art by the mentally ill." The phrase has inherent in it a touch of criticism, but it remains in use despite attempts to find a replacement.

It implies an aesthetic no-man's-land, a waste land open to speculation. So any attempt to get rid of it should be welcomed.

Nowhere is the attempt to find another expression more appropriate than in consideration of the art of Swiss farm labourer Adolf Wölfli (1864-1930), a schizophrenic who was found guilty of sexual offences. From 1895 until his death he was kept in an institution near Bern.

He produced there from 1899 onwards manuscripts, drawings and musical compositions, three art disciplines that were for him undivided from each other. On any one manuscript all three art forms were woven together to form a continuous narrative.

The supposition that such productions defy interpretation is incorrect. For some years the Adolf Wölfli Foundation in Bern has had astonishing success in interpreting his work.

A beginning was made in 1985 with the publication of the two-volume *Von der Wiege bis zum Graab . . .* dealing with the work that Wölfli produce between 1908 to 1912.

From the 752 illustrations that he produced in these years 60 were selected. Attempts of considerable research importance were made to decode the musical compositions that Wölfli made, using a very private form of notation all his own. This will contribute eventually to a better understood of these works.

But what made Wölfli famous were his drawings. Many of the 3,000 or more he did in his first five years in the mental institution have been lost. About 800 have survived and are now being catalogued.

A beginning has been made with the oldest group of works, 49 of them in large-format. They are pencil drawings on news print, dating from 1904 to 1906. These sheets of paper are very fragile and very sensitive to light. The preparation of a catalogue makes possible an opportunity to display them in a museum for the first time.

If these drawings, on show at the Städel Museum in Frankfurt, are viewed without the explanations of the catalogue then the eye recoils in horror. The prejudice is there and always will be.

This assessment has not only been able to separate the various ornamentations that Wölfli used, so that the logic behind them becames clear but, more importantly, gives a lead, now and again, to motives drawn from contemporary models.

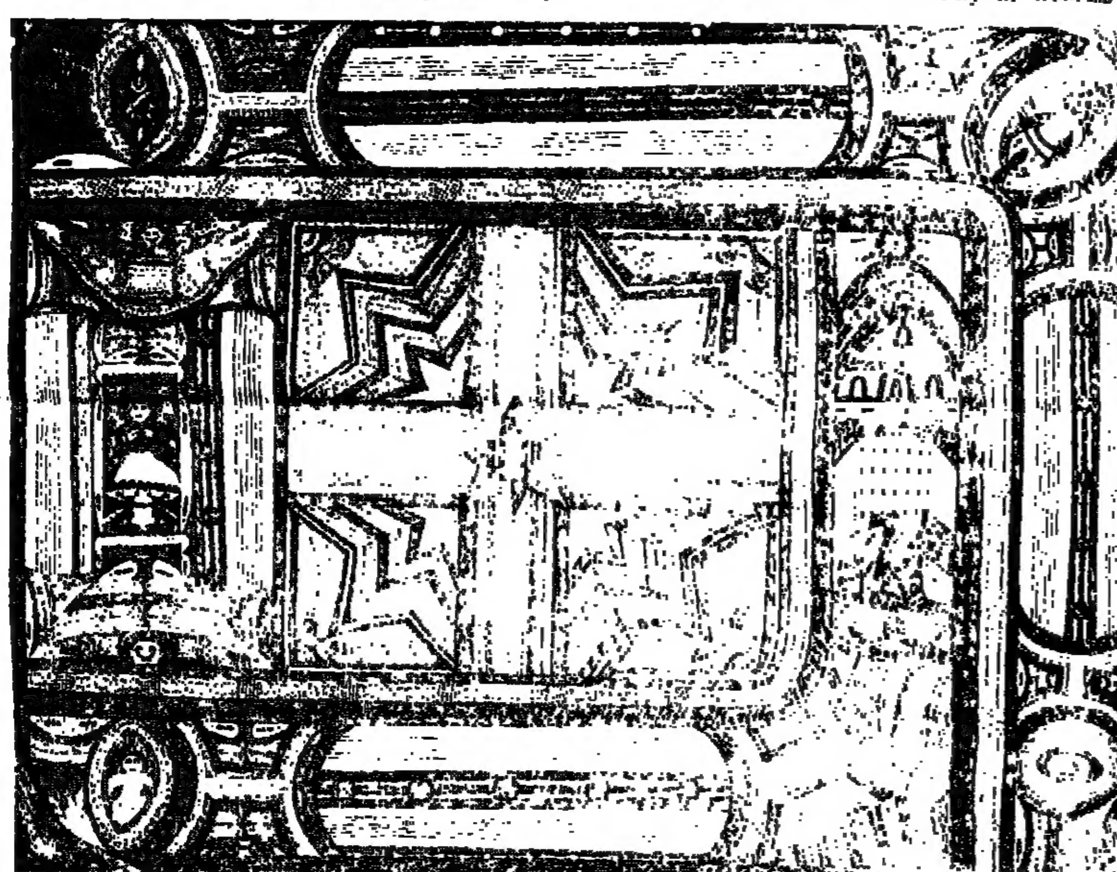
Like all artistic interpretation, there is certainly little that can be verified, but the basic idea, that his ornamental art was a unique translation of every basic pattern and decorative form, that he had been able to perceive as an agricultural worker in Bern and the surrounding countryside, is confirmed.

It should not be forgotten that the countryman works with nature, wood piled up and ploughed fields lend to the eye an artistic pattern.

Success has been achieved in uncovering some of these stimuli. Wölfli's drawings abruptly give these stimuli a different character. The interpretations show that they are comprehensible, descriptive means of an individual in his surroundings — at least in principle.

But Wölfli's message needs further detailed interpretation. For example one drawing shows a man with a walrus moustache, holding up a bottle in the air. Underneath Wölfli had written the word "Petrrohl."

There can be no doubt that he meant petroleum, but an assistant, who worked on the Frankfurt catalogue, goes further. He said that Wölfli was anticipating the emphasis given today to crude oil. Is this not close to associative thinking that is evoked by a single word? The *pétroleuse* of the Paris Commune became proverbial throughout Europe of the 1870s, or one recalls the oft-quoted complaint made by Swiss diplomat-historian Jakob Burckardt in a letter of 2 July 1871: "Indeed, petroleum in the Louvre's cellars . . ." Petroleum was classically favoured by anarchists, and Wölfli's grim man could possibly be putting something to the flames. Art is, in the first place, understood by convention, and there is nothing against presupposing other interpretations, so that one day Wölfli's work will be generally understood. It is obvious that more was meant than what is conventionally understood under the heading "Art of the mentally ill."



The left page of this two-page work, *Der Elfenbein=Thurm im Oriennt* (The elves-tower in the Orient) by Adolf Wölfli (1904) has been lost. (Photo: Catalogue)

It is easy to reduce Wölfli's work to such a category, as when one regards Picasso's style as cubist or discovers similarities between Mozart and Haydn. One would only be satisfied with a rough and ready assessment by such a gradation, but it can be a basis for handling art.

German-language art literature dealing with psychological styles will be dominated by Wölfli when the "art of the mentally ill" is brought to the attention of a wider section of the general public.

His basic idea, using structures from various epochs, led to imitators, who were his contemporaries such as Scheffler and Worringer. They were inspired by expressionism but went off in all directions, modern in primeval man and the Gothic in one's contemporaries.

This was his artistic basis that was pursued by such an unconventional psychiatrist as Walter Morgenthaler in his *Ein Geistkranker als Künstler: Adolf Wölfli*, that appeared in 1921 and Hans Prinzhorn's *Bildnerei der Geistkranken*, published in 1922.

The main interest is an analysis of style if not of a period diagnosis. These two speak more as aesthetes and cultural critics than as doctors. In this way they can be certain of the approval of avantgarde artists.

Reference to Paul Klee should be enough to indicate the fascination, inspiration even, of the new territory that professional artists can discover.

In 1921 in the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* Mogenthaler published a monograph "... der Fall Wölfli." The comment made by poet Rainer Maria Rilke, writing to Lou Andreas-Salomé, is quoted often. He wrote: ". . . it will help to gain new insights into productivity."

But Lou Salomé's reply hardly ever gets quoted. She retorted: "What makes the psychotic so tremendously touching and heart-rending is the fact that although he himself is incurable, he yet has something to say to us about ourselves (insofar as we are prepared to go to the trouble of understanding this *dialect*) and he expresses this in a way that no sane person could."

Rilke wanted to learn something of the nature of art from the Wölfli case, Lou Salomé something about people, artistic psychology as opposed to psychoanalysis, aesthetic theory against therapeutic understanding.

Only today are Morgenthaler's main efforts clear, and he was most courageous in honouring a lay artist, locked up in an institution, with a monograph.

Now that patients are made inarticulate by chemo-therapy, it is high time for a historical review over the short, hardly 70-year-old, history of the art of the mentally ill.

We already know from the pioneer work done by Prinzhorn that there were style periods even in this form of art. After the monumental works of Schröder-Sonnenstein and Soutter we have begun to talk of these artists.

Now, and only now, with the consideration being given to the works left behind by Wölfli, are we beginning to take these artists seriously as individuals with their own approach to life and their own way of expressing themselves.

The change in attitude is that the works are the product of a mentally ill artist rather than art of the mentally ill people who defend themselves with art against the threat of illness. For art is never sick, only the artist can be sick and art is then his therapy.

Genius is obviously the exception, to quote popular prejudice. It is in no way madness, but, quite to the contrary, is the highest manifestation of power and health.

What has been called the typical art of the mentally ill is distinguished by many characteristis, but is not regarded as the work of a normal artist.

An example of this is Adolf Wölfli. If one reads the literature on him one gains the impression that the 25,000 manuscript pages he left, 3,000 illustrations and 800 picture-size drawings are an enormous body of work and such a body of work is to be expected from a mentally-ill artist.

Thomas Mann left 25,000 pages and Picasso left a huge body of work, but they were not regarded as mentally ill.

Wölfli's work could be published without gaps. *Von der Wiege bis zum Graab . . .* has become an important double-volume work. But seven other would be necessary to deal completely with the literary remains.

There would have to be 15 other publications similar to the slim catalogue for the Frankfurt exhibition to cover all his drawings.

It seems that the Adolf Wölfli Foundation has decided to produce such an edition. The attention given the 3,000 illustrations and his musical compositions indicates that were Adolf Wölfli's complete works given the same treatment he would be regarded as a kind of classic. Then what would happen?

The fate of all Olympian parvenus would overtake him. Pitiless comparisons would be made. Wölfli's chances of coming through well are slim. The only

Continued on page 12



■ FILMS

A poet and his son: centrifugal forces at work on an island

Peter Lilienthal's film *Das Schweigen des Dichters* is the story of a true but helpless love between father and son. It is a relationship expressed in gestures rather than dialogue.

People tell Yoram, the father, that Gideon, the boy, is weak-minded. Yoram holds relentlessly to his belief that Gideon can come through. He refuses to put him in a home.

Neither the death of his wife nor his daughter's marriage alters his view, although he realises that he and the boy would be living alone in the old house on the outskirts of Tel Aviv.

Gideon's disability affects his speech. He cannot talk about the things that move him.

Yoram's relationship to language is marred in another way, for he was once a well-known poet, but he has given up.

Bitterly he said: "You no longer ask for the singing of the great; one is satisfied with the prattle of dwarfs."

There is another experience at the back of all this that contributes to his silence, the war, Israel's political situation.

Yoram cannot write any more and his brother cannot see. He was blinded in the war. Then his son-in-law is an uneasy and anxious man. Yoram pessimistically underlines this by saying, "We shall be rubbed out."

The film, produced by *Filmverlag der Autoren*, is a protest against withdrawal into oneself. Yoram recites a poem at a birthday celebration, but it is not one of his own. It was written by the Russian poet, Mikhail Lermontov.

A man in the street points out to Yoram the meaninglessness of his retreat from life, and a beggar, who knows the poet, asks the despairing question; where is the man who could care for social justice?

The question and the knowledge that there is no answer is not without its effect.

Gideon changes his father even more. Over the years their relationship alters. The son takes over the senior role. He now cares for his ageing father.

The day arrives when Gideon discovers that Yoram was a poet. The boy is delighted with the poetry and discovers a new world of language for himself.

In every way possible, ways that are extraordinary rather than simple-minded, Gideon tries to get his father to write again.

There is a marvellous tenacity in these efforts and he discovers from them an independence he never dreamt of before.

In the end he finds a job and Yoram gets out of his rut and temporarily goes off on a trip.

Against Gideon's fierce protests the house is sold. He visits his father in a hotel. He is sitting at a table writing.

The camera pans upwards, pointing out to sea. It is the first unimpeded view in the whole film, Bedouins riding off into the desert. It is possibly an imagine that triggers off the poet's imagination. Until this point Lilienthal's film has been about confinement in a place. The focus has been on walls, not only Jerusalem's Wailing Wall, but house walls, room walls, having the effect of prison on people, clearly imprisoned of their own free will. Gideon returns time and again to the small garden at the back of the house to find safety in the wreck of an old car. Walls do not offer him protection enough.

Discovering the poet . . . Len Ramras as Gideon in *Das Schweigen des Dichters*. (Photo: Filmverlag der Autoren)

Gideon hears of Robinson Crusoe at school. He tells Yoram of him. The parallel is clear. Father and son live as if they were in the isolation of an island. They are seeking for a focal point that in effect means isolation.

The way out is hinted at, as they both, each for himself, develop centrifugal forces of their own.

Typically there are signs of movement at the end. Yoram goes off on a ship and Gideon takes up a job with the railways.

The last visionary frame of the film equally promises movement, survival from a confined place and inaction. Lilienthal has directed the story by Abraham B. Jehoshua, *Das wachsende Schweigen des Dichters*, with wonderful care, full of affection for his characters.

This affection is such that he has changed the ending, to allow more room for hope.

Das Schweigen des Dichters is a film about Israel, that looks at the country from the outside and from within.

It is also a film about the forms protest can take, about soft, but insistent resistance, articulated not in words and actions but in signs and symbolic deeds.

Tenderness is the only thing that remains unbroken, the anxious tenderness of the characters and the courageous tenderness of the director.

H. G. Pflaum

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 18 April 1987)

Changes in producer company heralds end of an era

The Filmverlag der Autoren is no longer a company owned and operated by young film-makers.

When film director Hark Bohm disposes of his 1.9 per cent of the equity, there will no longer be film-makers among the shareholders and a brilliant chapter in the history of the German film industry will end.

Filmverlag was established in Munich in the early 1960s to give solidarity to the aims and aspirations of the younger generation of film-makers.

By the middle of the 1970s, it included among its members such names as Fassbinder, Wenders and Herzog, directors who had carried the New German Film to international success.

But there were soon disagreements. Artistic demands and commercial interests collided. Successful directors were not happy at having to finance the flops of others. There were constant changes in management and big names pulled out.

Rainer Werner Fassbinder left when Rudolf Augstein, publisher of the news magazine *Der Spiegel*, gained a majority shareholding in 1977 and, with his wealth, saved the heavily-indebted company from liquidation.

He brought in Theo Hinz as managing director. Hinz had been PR man with Constantin-Verleih, the distribution company. Filmverlag's structure got more like that of an ordinary commercial undertaking.

In 1983 Hinz and Augstein parted because Augstein would not support the tough measures that Hinz wanted to introduce.

So Hinz went off to found his own distributing company with the confident name of Futura.

A scandal in 1984 over Wim Wenders' *Paris, Texas* showed that there was no longer any confidence in Augstein and his new management.

Wenders took the view that Filmverlag undervalued his film. The row in the press was violent until Filmverlag shareholders turned their backs on Bohm.

Augstein had had enough. He wanted to get rid of Filmverlag. For a time the Bertelsmann media group was having discussions about taking over the company. But after a reconciliation the company was eventually sold to Hinz, who took over in September 1985.

As soon as he has Bohm's shares in his had he will merge his Futura into Filmverlag der Autoren. The words "der Autoren" will be retained in the merged company's name. But these added words no longer have any significance.

Do not the film-directors of Filmverlag fear that their work for "Futura-Filmverlag" will only be a padding to the company's main activities?

Hark Bohm has covered himself. He said: "I am sure that Theo Hinz is completely devoted to the interests of the German film, but I don't know the capital involvement of the partner whom Hinz must be representing."

Bohm himself does not know who is putting up the money for Hinz. There is only speculation as to why this mystery financier wants to remain in the background. The rumours extend from camera manufacturers Arnold & Richter to Bertelsmann.

Hinz, however, promises that the times for experiment are not past. He said: "We shall always be doing that and we have experimental films in our programme. There are, of course limits to everything. We cannot bring out very many films."

He continued: "We have thought up a little way round the problem though. We are shortly coming out with a small programme, 'Forum,' in addition to the main programme."

Filmverlag's future will be more and more involved with marketing and distributing films.

The company is the main distributor of the New German Film and Hinz says that it will continue in this market-leader position, to strengthen the German film industry.

Since he took over Filmverlag he has already had a major hit, Doris Dörrie's comedy *Männer*.

Hinz is not telling stories when he says that he would like to see Doris Dörrie shooting a follow-up to *Männer*. He intends to latch on to the idea of substanial film comedies in future planning.

The programme for the immediate future includes mainly light entertainment. Little that is explosive or provocative.

Hinz points out that his Forum was responsible for such films as *40 qm Deutschland* from the Turkish director Tevfik Baser, and Werner Schroeter's *Rosenkönig*.

Nevertheless more than a half of the films in the programme are re-makes of old productions, Peter Stein's *Klassenfeind* for instance. But when all is said and done the Forum films are subsidiary to the main production programme.

Whether this was wanted or not, a separate series of films implies a suspicious division of productions from the mainstream. These films are begrudgingly produced and are not part of the main production programme.

The founders of Autorenfilm put great emphasis on no compromises. The situation is different today. Young film-makers no longer have the urge to take care of the distribution of their films themselves. The former younger generation of film-makers are no longer around. They want to protect, conserve, what they have gained with so much effort.

Hinz agrees with the industry's line in this matter.

Filmverlag's decline is a symptom of a cultural change in the film industry. The critical disputes over realism are being neglected, not only by the general public but by young film-makers themselves.

After the merger of his Futura and Filmverlag companies Hinz, along with his mystery backer, will set up an ordinary public limited company.

He is convinced that a company such as Futura has a bright future, if only because he believes that he has discovered signs of change in public attitudes.

The trend, he believes, is towards films made for specific groups. Quality German films do not stand a chance of international success for a mass public. It makes a lot more sense to concentrate on the quality of German films. A new era has begun.

Günter Jurczyk

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 April 1987)

■ AVIATION

Advent of fibre optics signals an end to hydraulic aircraft controls

DIE WELT

Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm engineers have designed a new aircraft control system using fibre optics.

The system, which is claimed by the firm to be the step forward from fly-by-wire to fly-by-light-technology, is called Light Electronic Control System (Lecos).

Lecos means that fibre optic takes the place of wire; and that flight becomes electro-optical instead of electro hydraulic. It means that electronic controls supersede conventional mechanical controls.

Efficiency is the key. Signal relays are arranged threefold in parallel so that if one system fails there are two others.

All fibre optic circuits are constantly monitored by the system, as are the microprocessors that trigger the controls.

Moving parts are still powered by servo-motors, or power devices adjusting the final control element.

As signals transmitted via the cables are too weak to provide the power needed, servos are indispensable.

The classical technique on which aircraft controls are still mainly based is purely mechanical. Rudders and tail units are operated by means of a multitude of rods, bars, levers and wires, plus servo support.

This equipment can create weight problems. The control mechanism of a Boeing 747, wires and all, weighs about two tons.

Fly-by-wire is already in use in many secondary control sectors, such as air brakes and landing flaps, neither of which are vitally important, in the A 320 Airbus.

This Airbus model also extends fly-by-wire to parts of the primary control system, such as elevators and ailerons. Five process computers have replaced the entire fly-by-wire computer capacity.

No sooner had coaxial cable taken over data transmission on board aircraft in flight but development engineers set out to replace it with fibre optics, which are ideally suited for transmitting digital data.

The original control functions have since been extended to included many and varied other uses. Fly-by-wire has emerged as a multi-functional system incorporating in-flight navigation and controls.

A network of hair-thin fibre optic is fitted throughout the aircraft.

Even if entire cable channels break down, the information still gets through, whether it is the servo-motor of a rudder or the hydraulic power unit of the undercarriage.

Much as the human nerve system remain operational even when some nerves are out of action, Lecos relays data to its destination via "detours."

All control processes relayed via the fibre optic network are in being at all junctions, so they can be rerouted in the event of a breakdown.

Provided the transmission system is constantly supplied with the power it needs, all key functions can be guaranteed to work whatever happens, MBB engineers claim.

Signals are transmitted simultaneously by blue, red and green light at the appropriate frequencies and fed in parallel into the fibre optic network.

This procedure rules out any possibility of external light sources putting an optical spanner in the works.

An "optical invader" would need to be in three exactly right colour codes and to use the exact "electronic shorthand" of the data transmission system.

If the pilot or autopilot resets the elevator the microprocessor emits an electronic control signal for conversion into the three transmission colours.

These three sets of identical instructions are relayed at a speed of nearly 300,000 kilometres a second to the elevator servo.

When the signal is sent from the cockpit through the fibre optics, the control system checks the colour code to make sure which frequency has priority in the event of a partial breakdown.

The elevator servo has a receiver that converts the optical signal into an electronic one. This digital command triggers the elevator's microprocessor.

The microprocessor uses its program software to carry out the instructions.

The only possible drawback in the entire concept, experts say, is the quality of signals generated by the process computer.

Just as digital home computers can go on the blink, upsets in the central processing unit could be misread and transmitted as rogue commands.

Interference from a chip transistor has also been known to simulate a mistaken command. As in CD players, complex filter circuits check data for errors of this kind and make sure they aren't relayed to the servos.

Flight control systems of the future will also help aircraft to become artificially stable, research programmes indicate.

Structurally, aircraft are aerodynamically unstable. But limited electronic input could offset this shortcoming.

In aircraft with conventional rudder systems, units can be miniaturised to a striking extent, resulting — in the final analysis — in fuel savings.

Dieter Thierbach

(Die Welt, Bonn, 25 April 1987)

Woman qualifies for airline flight-deck crew



(Photo: ...)

Barbara Mörl-Weidig, (above) 36, is the first woman to qualify as a commercial airline pilot in Germany.

She passed her final flight test at the controls of a 30-seater turboprop flying from Düsseldorf to Bristol and back.

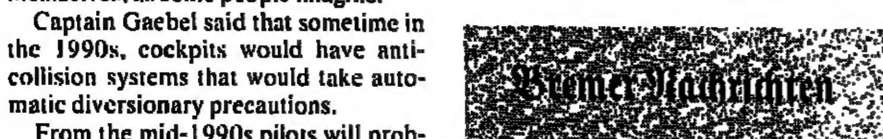
She will now pilot — and captain — domestic and European flights for her airline, DLT, a Lufthansa subsidiary.

Her first taste of aviation was as a Lufthansa ground hostess. She then qualified as a private and professional pilot, first flying as a works pilot.

dpa

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 18 April 1987)

Pilots still needed in spite of advances in technology





Bremer Nachrichten

New aviation technologies will not relieve pilots of making in-flight decisions, says Martin Gaebel, a pilot who is a director of Lufthansa.

Aircraft will not be able to fly by themselves, as some people imagine.

Captain Gaebel said that sometime in the 1990s, cockpits would have anti-collision systems that would take automatic diversionary precautions.

From the mid-1990s pilots will probably also be equipped with a new microwave landing system enabling them to be more flexible in making their landing approaches.

Captain Gaebel, a Boeing 747 pilot, was one of the first leading pilots whose views were sought by Lufthansa on the vexed issue of two-man cockpits — that is without a flight engineer, as in the new Airbuses.

Initial opposition was strenuous among pilots. But now, Gaebel says attitudes are changing.

"Pilots today," he says, "have all been convinced by their modern cockpits." Even the newer, larger Boeing 747-400 jumbos that Lufthansa is due to fly from 1989 will have a flight-deck crew of two.

Will there one day be a trend toward single-manning? "No," says Gaebel, "that would clash with the principle of redundancy in civil aviation."

"Redundancy" here means that there must be dual and triple safety precautions for all systems.

"Risk avoidance and passenger safety come first and foremost," says Captain Gaebel, who has been flying for 31 years.

There must be no mistakes in assessing young trainee pilots. They cost several hundred thousands marks to train. Training to Jumbo pilot standard costs DM1m.

It may once have been enough for a pilot to be able to fly a plane safely from A to B. Today he has to consider the in-flight operational atmosphere and his airline's financial interests.

The larger the crew, the more is required of the captain by way of management skills. A Jumbo crew can number 18, and they must work as a team for up to a fortnight at a time. One example will be enough to show that the captain's decisions can have a substantial influence on airline profits. If he decides he must land at an airport other than the designated destination his airline may have to pay hotel bills for 450 passengers.

Yet Captain Gaebel is convinced pilots will continue not to need training to PhD standards, although he feels Lufthansa's two-year training course followed by six months' intensive training for a specific aircraft in no way pales in comparison with a university degree.

"Piloting is still a trade," he says, "even though the days are long gone when pilots used to fly by the seat of their pants."

By that they meant "feeling" — but intuition alone is no longer enough. Pilots must be able to exactly interpret instrument data and, above all, their artificial horizon.

Four times a year every Lufthansa pilot has to demonstrate his aviation skills in a flight simulator. Twice a year tests are taken under examination conditions.

Gaebel is just one of Lufthansa's 1,800 pilots who have to take the tests.

Has piloting an airliner grown easier or more difficult? Both, he says. Navigation is easier but not finding your way around the world's major airports.

dpa

(Bremer Nachrichten, 23 April 1987)

Continued from page 10

thing that would be left to Wölfli is his natural creativity. He would be regarded as a gifted peasant artist, able to give expression to his fantasy within an institution.

The drive of his art was the unifying effort for an improved way of life and the need to make good for evil acts, albeit basically quite harmless acts.

The most beautiful result of this was probably therapeutic. Wölfli, previously aggressive, learned through art to come to terms with himself and the world around him.

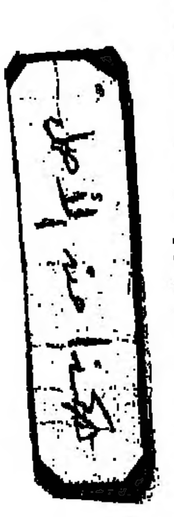
His art often went right to the limits of formal art structures. His unconventional gifts are shown when he introduces perspective into his flat drawings, doing so with such finesse and taste that one is filled with astonishment at such insolent bravura.

But no matter how extraordinary his gifts were, how powerful his personality was, the world of beauty he approached was the peasant world, and in the end it was ornamental folk art that gave him his artistic language.

There is no doubt that he was an artist. But the way from him to Soutter is long, the road to Van Gogh unending.

Wilfried Wiegand

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 April 1987)



■ MEDICINE

The complaint that strikes under cover of darkness

Apnoea is a widespread yet fairly unknown counterpart to cot death among the middle-aged. About 10 per cent of middle-aged men in the Federal Republic of Germany show signs of it.

Their breathing is irregular and can suddenly stop while they sleep. But with research into sleep still in its early days, the complaint is seldom diagnosed in its initial stages.

The typical symptoms, as evidenced by a 49-year-old man who suffered from apnoea for 12 years, are unspecific. He snored loudly and was chronically tired, usually from the moment he got up in the morning.

He found it increasingly difficult to concentrate. He was often nervous and frequently aggressive because he felt he needed peace and quiet. Problems at work and in the family were the result.

A typical feature of apnoea is that the patient himself usually has no idea he is ill and that his breathing comes to a standstill abnormally often at night.

He only consults a doctor when subsequent complaints such as high blood pressure, cardiac rhythm disorders and mental upsets, such as bouts of depression, give him trouble.

The basic complaint, apnoea, is then often not diagnosed. Its consequences are treated; their cause goes unnoticed.

First detailed recommendations on classification, diagnosis and treatment of apnoea were made at a Freiburg session of the respiratory and circulatory regulative disturbances working party of the German Pneumology and Tuberculosis Society.

Apnoea can almost always be satisfactorily treated. Even the complaints to which it gives rise can be improved, says Professor Peter von Wichert, director of Marburg University medical polyclinic.

Nocturnal respiratory arrest is nothing unusual. We all more or less often stop breathing momentarily in our sleep. But the more often it happens, the greater the possibility of serious illness.

Apnoea is defined as more than ten phases of breath being held for over 10 seconds per hour of sleep. In other words, the sleeper stops breathing for 10 seconds or longer every six minutes.

This frequency can make him ill. His blood oxygen count declines and its carbon dioxide count increases.

Pressure increases in the blood circulation between heart and lung. The heartbeat slows down substantially, then suddenly increases the moment breathing is resumed.

In the long term this higher pressure and constant fluctuation can cause high blood pressure, cardiac insufficiency or a disturbance in cardiac rhythm.

Nor is that all. Apnoeic phases, triggered by a fault in the central nervous system, are ended by a shock reflex known as arousal that is almost invariably accompanied by a loud, explosive snore.

As a rule the patient is not aware of all this; he doesn't wake up during the arousal reaction. But it does stop him from falling into a deep sleep.

In other words, apnoea sufferers may get eight hours' sleep but they aren't eight hours of really restful and regenerative sleep. As a result they are constantly tired and often nod off during the day.

This continual fragmentation of sleep leads to nervousness, aggressiveness and mental changes up to and including depression and hallucinations.

Medical research has not yet fully clarified the part played by snoring, which almost always accompanies the complaint.

Snoring alone cannot be a risk factor, Professor von Wichert says. "Otherwise men would long have been extinct."

As in the case of the 49-year-old male patient mentioned earlier, apnoea usually develops slowly and at first unnoticed. It is often the patient's wife who first realises that something must be wrong.

Yet the complaint is far from uncommon. Tests of a random sample of 100 factory workers by the Marburg research group show that about 10 per cent of men suffer from it.

Dr Hermann Jörg Peter of the Marburg medical analysis group estimates the number of apnoea sufferers in the Federal Republic of Germany, population 60 million, to be two million.

He feels that about 200,000 of them run an acute risk of dying prematurely from cardiac and circulatory complications.

They are almost always men, usually in middle age. Only about five per cent are women. Doctors are still at a loss to account for this fact.

A working party session chaired by Dr Peter in Freiburg has drawn up recommendations aimed at identifying as many apnoea sufferers as possible.

A standardised questionnaire devised by the Marburg group is intended to make the complaint appear likely during anamnesis, or questioning about the course of the complaint for which the patient has consulted his doctor.

Do you feel tired in daytime? Do you nod off during the day? Have you felt less efficient lately? Patients are also questioned about symptoms such as heartbeat stoppages, shortage of breath, feelings of asphyxiation, snoring and whether they still feel they can cope with the burdens of life.

If their answers indicate the possibility of apnoea more detailed investigation is needed. Everyone who suffers from high blood pressure needs to be investigated more closely, says Dr Peter. Hypertonia is often the first sign of apnoea.

"We now know that apnoea is a primordial risk factor and a complaint that severely limits the quality of life," he says.

"Sufferers have a higher rate of illness and death. Apnoea is closely linked with classic risk factors such as high blood pressure, hyperlipidaemia and coronary thrombosis."

Hyperlipidaemia is a high level of fat and fatty substances in the blood.

As soon as apnoea is suspected, says Professor Karl-Heinz Rühle of the pneumology unit at Freiburg University Hospital, the patient must be referred to a sleep laboratory for tests.

His breathing must be recorded during sleep "because the clinical symptoms show us no more than the tip of the iceberg."

Apnoea must not be equated with the Pickwick syndrome, named after the novel by Charles Dickens, which is a tendency to nod off while awake.

Pickwick patients are felt to suffer from congestion of the respiratory tract due to being heavily overweight.

Experts warn that there are far too few sleep research laboratories in the Federal Republic where apnoea can be diagnosed.

The working party calls for a swift expansion programme as in the United States, where much greater general importance is attached to sleep research.

Sleep laboratories are said to be needed at all central hospitals and specialist clinics in the Federal Republic. Apnoea can then be diagnosed during the night while the patient is sleeping.

Sensors are attached to the skin, registering transcutaneously the gas exchange and thus the oxygen count of the patient's blood. A normal oxygen count throughout the night will rule out apnoea entirely.

Breathing rhythm is also recorded, either by measuring breathing and snor-

DIE ZEIT

ing by means of microphones attached to the patient's mouth and nose or by strapping special belts to the patient's diaphragm.

All these parameters can also be recorded outside hospital using an outpatient diagnosis unit devised by the Marburg group.

Once there are serious grounds for suspecting that a patient suffers from apnoea, more detailed laboratory analysis is required.

The experts strongly warn against prescribing sedatives and tranquillisers. The patient would do well to steer clear of both, and to cut out alcohol in the evening, as his arousals might then be suppressed.

If he is overweight he must slim, as surplus weight encourages congestion of the respiratory tract during sleep.

Sleeping with your head and shoulders tilted upward can also facilitate breathing.

If nocturnal symptoms are accompanied by diurnal ones, such as excessive daytime tiredness, doctors recommend prescribing drugs such as theophyllin. Theophyllin occurs naturally in tealeaves, is a close chemical relation of caffeine and is mainly used to treat asthma sufferers.

It is reported to have proved useful in treating apnoea sufferers too.

Physical treatment as well as medication is advisable once the complaint shows signs of serious repercussions. The patient is fitted out with a nose mask and artificially respirated, forcing him to breathe on while asleep.

The compressor used to power this device used to be the size of a refrigerator. Nowadays it is both more compact and less noisy. "Patients are very cooperative and usually quick to get used to respiration," Professor Rühle says.

This is partly because they really suffer from their symptoms and feel, even after their first night's sleep wearing a mask, either an improvement or the total disappearance of their symptoms.

Definite improvements were reported in all 40 cases studied during treatment by the Marburg working party. The 49-year-old man mentioned earlier said, after a few nights wearing the mask, that he felt like a new man.

Christine Schaefer

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 17 April 1987)



■ SOCIETY

Portrait of the new German

People are puzzling over the Germans again and much is incomprehensible to observers of the German scene.

People speak of the grumpy Germans who in the midst of their post-war affluence muse on coming catastophes and get swallowed up by obscure ruminations.

From this, so the comments go, great literature and great music was produced.

What is true about descriptions of this sort is that more and more people have said goodbye to the aims of the survivors of the last war and the first post-war generation.

Money and career are no longer so important, "inner qualities" are now sought after and even the supernatural has taken on a new significance.

Most Germans in the Federal Republic are satisfied with their present situation, but they are looking sceptically towards the future.

These impressions have been confirmed by a recent study on the "new aims and ambitions of the Germans," appearing in the women's magazine *Brigitte*, published in Hamburg.

The study's conclusion was that "secretly Germans are re-considering things. In view of AIDS, environmental scandals and nuclear catastophes the search for inner values is gaining in importance."

This "subjectivity" that the magazine's editors speak about has a traditional companion. It goes hand in hand with a strong belief in supernatural phenomenon such as miracles, telepathy and spiritual healing.

Astonishingly many citizens in this country believe that here on earth things can be influenced by the energetic support of secret powers.

The study reveals that 36 per cent of those questioned were of the opinion that there was "something in telepathy." Almost the same number took horoscopes seriously and 20 per cent believed in UFOs and fortune-telling.

Other citizens seek for enlightenment in more series paths, through Asian exercises such as yoga or meditation.

This makes things difficult for the traditional churches. The complaints about lax religious belief are well known and that many are continuously leaving the churches.

The *Brigitte* study reveals that only one in three claims to believe in God, only one in four in a life after death.

It makes even less sense when 36 per cent of those questioned said that they believed the Last Judgment to be a reality which had to be reckoned with in life.

Where the church suffered a loss of support and authority, the Devil has also lost in prestige. Only 30 per cent believed in reincarnation, mainly women.

It is well-known that Satan has more followers in the south of the Federal Republic than in the north.

The north-south division was made very obvious in the question of belief in miracles. In Baden-Württemberg 44 per cent believed in them; the Federal Republic average was 30 per cent.

The strong urge towards the supernatural among West German citizens can be explained by resignation over the difficult problems of the present and the future, involving above all environmental upsets that bother the Germans more than other people.

People in this country are also worried about illnesses and the effects of nuclear weapons, that were given second and third place in the survey under the heading problems, well in front of financial security or job career.

However, many citizens said they saw opportunities to alter things if only people would make a start with themselves.

Many of those questioned in the survey criticised themselves for having been too aimless in life.

In conclusion most said that they would have to think more deeply over the meaning of life. The men meant by this *consideration about marraige or a* partnership, the women meant children.

The survey showed that the present younge generation, people between 18 and 29, took a more relaxed attitude to life. Their parents were part of the disturbed 1960s. Today's younger generation have been brought up under different educational conditions.

Surprisingly this survey showed that there is a huge gap between young men and women of this generation as regards their attitudes towards life.

Today's young men, like the men of the generation before them, see chances for reform through politics, but young women regard politics and politicians sceptically.

The men were also far more optimisitic than the women about developments in the future.

These differences extend to the supernatural. Men are enthusiastic about UFOs, parapsychology or the voodoo cult. Women are much more in favour

Continued on page 15

Forum for Everyman not quite what it seems

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

Erich H. Sontag believes strongly that there are too few opportunities for people with minority views to have a public say.

He said that he resented censorship of others ideas simply because they thought differently.

So he has founded what he calls his "Readers letters exchange," to counter what he considers to be a concealed form of censorship in West German society.

In his view thousands of people in this country, who write letters to newspapers, radio and television stations, never get a hearing because their letters are never made public.

Sontag says that the blame for this lies with an "influential minority of journalists, who, through disdain of their professional ethics indoctrinate citizens en masse so that democracy in this country is endangered."

Anyone who has written a letter to a newspaper or magazine, a radio or television station, and has not had it published can send it to Sontag.

In payment of a fee for postage or a donation he undertakes to engage in an exchange of letters with the newspaper or radio or TV station.

A Bonn newspaper reported about a "peace researcher" who was arrested by the police in the course of a demonstration. Sontag asked the paper: "Can you please inform me what kind of educational background do you need to have had to be described in your paper as a 'peace researcher'?"

The newspaper found the letter curious, but replied that only "conventional" letters to the editor were published.

Obviously his aim is to get on people's nerves to such an extent that they do something. But there is more to it than that.

Since he started his "readers' letters exchange" in 1986, letters to the editor that are ignored, Sontag has gathered "some very interesting data on the true opinions of people."

These opinions are published in the "Readers' Exchange" own publication *Stimme der Welt* (Voice of the World), which does not just publish the original letters but "comments on the ideas behind the letters."

In the January issue the point at issue was the boycott of the right-wing singer-songwriter Gerd Knesel by public organisations, and in the February issue the theme was the new battle that *Stimme der Welt* sees on the horizon between the churches and sects.

Anyone wanting to do battle with the unbelievers with fire and sword can turn to the righ-wing magazine *Neue Solidarität*, the mouthpiece of the extreme right-wing European Workers Party (German initials are EAP), but that does not bother Sontag.

In the March issue the question of AIDS is taken up.

Sontag's publication cites the right-winger Larouche.

The extreme right-wing students group *Ring Freiheitlicher Studenten* overjoyed when *Stimme der Welt* gives its views on the group. Sontag's publication praises *Student* as the only "right-wing" alternative to the *Marxist*-inclined mass of student publications.

Comment from abroad used in Sontag's publication comes mainly from nationalist or Zionist Israelis, praising their country as a bastion of Western values against the Russian threat in the Middle East. The emphasis is on anti-communism.

Stimme der Welt recommends contacts with the Moonies sect in particular on the grounds that it is the only *church that has not yet been "infiltrated* by communism."

The general view expressed by *Stimme der Welt* is that only Federal Republic political and religious organisations can hope to survive that have the approval of "local authorities and social groups that are inclined to radical socialism."

According to Sontag it is a sign of the times that the political wind is blowing from the right.

He is himself a member of the Free Democrats (FDP) and regards his publication to be "liberal or left-inclined liberal."

At present *Stimme der Welt* reflects the tendency towards the right, gives voice to the feelings of "those on the right who are under pressure."

Now it is time to wheel round "to the left" and ask why they feel themselves under pressure.

Peter Zudiek

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 26 April 1987)

■ CRIME

Property thefts on the increase as gangs become better organised

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Crime figures issued by Bonn and the *Länder* confirm what is already known: that the police are fighting a losing battle against certain types of crime.

The police are doing best against murder, other crimes of violence and against crimes such as forgery and false pretences.

But theft of goods is giving the greatest problems. Four out of five thefts are not cleared up. For example, only a third of car thieves is caught. Last year, the rate of offences climbed 3.6 per cent. The clear-up rate of all crime was 45.8 per cent compared with 55.8 per cent 20 years ago.

Ninety four per cent of murders were solved, 70 per cent of rapes and 84 per cent of other violent crimes.

But car thefts were up 18 per cent at 701,000; 15 per cent of the nation's 4,367 crimes and minor offences were connected with cars. Eight per cent were shoplifting and another eight per cent bicycle thefts.

The chief of police in the Bonn Interior Ministry, Manfred Schreiber, says that in many cases there is little the police can do except sympathise.

More organised gangs are in operation stealing from cars and houses. Schreiber says the police just can't reverse the trend alone. People must change their attitude and protect their property better — 61 per cent of all crimes are thefts.

Interior Ministers from Bonn and the *Länder* are due to meet to organise steps against one of the most common crimes, the theft of car radios. The ministers want radio manufacturers to introduce a coding system in an effort to make them theft-proof.

If their efforts are unsuccessful, the Bonn Ministry of the Interior is prepared to toughen the laws for offences against cars. Last year's 4,367 million crimes was twice as many as in 1966. Part of the reason is that the population has increased, especially in those age groups where the tendency towards criminality is greatest. But that is only part of the answer because the incidence of reported crime is twice as high in proportion to population as it was 20 years ago. Foreigners are committing more crimes — 19.3 per cent of all suspects are foreigners. Yet they form only 7.3 per cent of the population. The main reason is that asylum applicants are twice as likely to be charged as they were two years ago.



Temptation at work. (Photo: Poly-Press)

The explanation, says Schreiber, is not as is sometimes claimed, that the proportion of foreigners in the crime-prone age groups is higher than the national average. Schreiber says foreign criminality is higher than the national average in all age groups.

Crime among children is declining, but is increasing among adolescents and young adults up to the age of 21.

The lower birth-rate is partly the reason for fewer crimes by children. Crimes by adolescents was in 1986 up one per cent on 1985 and up five per cent on 1984.

The figures confirm the attraction big cities have for criminals. In centres with fewer than 20,000 people, crime has increased 72 per cent since 1971. In cities with more than 500,000 it has increased almost 88 per cent. Crimes such as breaking into cars and robbery happen between five and 10 times as often in big cities like Hamburg, Frankfurt, Cologne, Berlin or Munich than in cities with fewer than 100,000.

For the first time, the police have compiled statistics about individual offenders. They show that 76.5 per cent of offenders operate alone: that gangs concentrate almost exclusively on car thefts, thefts from cars, handbag thefts and serious crimes.

56.3 per cent of offenders have been previously convicted. Most of those were gang members.

The figures show that 62 per cent of murderers, 84 per cent of people convicted of robbery with murder and 67 per cent of rapists already had convictions.

Alcohol was involved in 10 per cent of cases and in 68.4 per cent of cases "resistance to public authority" (resisting arrest and other forms of resisting or ignoring police directives).

Crimes regarded as politically motivated are dealt with separately. These include offences at demonstrations, attacks on power pylons and railway lines and illegal possession of explosives.

An annexe in the report deals with various offences against the state, which last year increased by 17.8 per cent to 14,696 cases.

Much of this increase was connected with a large and violent demonstration against a nuclear fuel plant at Wackersdorf in Bavaria when 1,335 charges were laid. This meant that the 1986 figure for Bavaraia was double that of 1985.

In contrast, the situation in Hesse was quieter. The main reason was that prolonged and sometimes violent demonstrations against an extension to Frankfurt airport involving demolition of forestland had almost stopped. Only seven per cent of offences were in Hesse compared with 20 per cent in 1985.

Last year, other main areas for political demonstrations were Berlin and North Rhine-Westphalia.

It was quieter in the Rhineland-Palatinate, Bremen and the Saar.

Jörg Bischoff

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 April 1987)

Police's task is hopeless, says spokesman

The police are hopelessly placed to fight organised crime, says Klaus Steffenhagen, head of the police trade union in North Rhine-Westphalia. Equipping of the police was "miserable."

Meanwhile, the Aliens Commissioner in the Bundestag, Liselotte Funcke, said it was wrong to deduce from the criminal statistics issued by Bonn and the *Länder* that foreigners were committing more crime than Germans.

She said the statistics were incomplete and, because of this, gave a false picture.

The statistics dealt with "suspects", and not with convictions. It had been demonstrated that foreigners were suspected more often than Germans.

The statistics embracing foreigners did not only include foreigners living in Germany but also tourists, families of troops stationed here and illegal migrants.

dpa

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 18 April 1987)

The pressures to buy — or steal

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Barely had the ink dried on the paper of the criminal statistics report than Interior Ministry moves were being discussed to toughen up legislation in an effort to reverse the trend.

But it is highly doubtful if harder laws and tougher punishments will have any great effect. Theft seems to be only a symptom of weaknesses in society.

The entire economic system in this country — as in all other industrialised nations — is founded on the idea of consumption. From the time he or she tumbles out of bed in the morning to the time when he or she slips into bed at night, the pressure is on to buy.

Attractive advertisements, hoardings and shop windows have no other aim. Who has not found himself spontaneously reaching for a supposed special offer or cleverly presented item of clothing?

It takes a certain amount of will to resist. Younger people tend to have less resistance. They give in more quickly than older people — not only by buying, but also by stealing.

There is a dilemma here: they are courted by the sales people but often don't have enough money. In addition, people between the ages of say, 15 and 25, are the main group hit by unemployment.

Among them is another group — the children whose parents have come to Germany from poor countries. They have the additional pressures of adapting to a strange society.

This is not to excuse theft. It merely points out where social help might best be used.

The statistics are disquieting. They show the decline of the once-proverbial law-abidence of the Germans.

But is this not more a lack of example to follow? When leading political figures and captains of industry become involved in cases involving allegations of bribery and tax evasion, they hardly provide a good example for the small man. (The reference here is to the Flick affair, where two former Cabinet ministers and an industrialist were charged with conspiring to evade tax in return for contributions to party political funds.)

(Nurnberger Nachrichten, 16 April 1987)

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of reading the cards or fortune-telling, in astrology and horoscopes.

Every other women believes that there is something in astrology, and more than a third of those questioned in the survey were of the opinion that the dead can indeed communicate with the living.

The conjunction of scepticism to the point of rejection of politics and a keen interest in the supernatural suggests political resignation.

There is every indication here that there is an extensive search to develop and try out something new.

It seems that these young women are much more critical of the world around them than their young male contemporaries, particularly when they complain of politicians who are more concerned with their own interests than the general weal. The survey shows that these women give more thought to wars, social injustice and the nuclear threat.

Men approach matters far more generally and concentrate on the question: "What am I living for in fact?"

West German politics has learned in the past few years just how political these women are. They have been a considerable force not only in various alternative political groupings but among the Greens. There is no doubt that more will be heard from these political women of this generation in the years ahead.

The puzzle the Germans present to people abroad will undoubtedly continue, their unique mix of scepticism, involvement and irrationality, which this survey showed all too clearly yet again.

Karsten Plog

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 22 April 1987)